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122 **BURTON** (William, 1609-1657). A Commentary on Antonius, his Itinerary or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain: Wherein the first foundation of our Cities, Lawes and Government . . . are clearly discovered . . . *With portrait and folding map, both engraved by Hollar, folio, fine copy in original calf.* 1658. £2 2s.

from Robinson  
Newcastle on-  
26 April / 28









Vera  
**GUILLELMI**  
 LL. Bacca



Effigies  
**BURTON**  
 laurei.

*W. Hollar fecit*



47705

A COMMENTARY  
ON  
**ANTONINUS**  
HIS  
**ITINERARY,**  
OR  
**JOURNIES**  
Of the ROMANE EMPIRE, so far as it concerneth  
**BRITAIN:**

WHEREIN

The first Foundation of our Cities, Lawes, and Government, according to the Roman Policy, are clearly discovered; whence all succeeding Ages have drawn their Originall. The ancient Names of their Garrisons within this Island are restored to the Modern, with their Site, and true distances; Their Military Waies, and Walls; with many Antiquities, Medalls, Inscriptions, and Urnes, are recovered from the ruine of Time.

A Work very usefull for all Historians, Antiquaries, Philologists, and more particularly for the Student of the LAWS.

---

By **WILLIAM BURTON**  
Batchelor of LAWS.

---

With a Chorographick **MAP** of the severall Stations:  
And Index's to the whole **WORK.**

---

*Marcianus Heracleota, ἐν Πελαγονίᾳ.*

Τέπων δ' ὅσα μὲν ἐνοίματ' ἐστὶ καὶ Καρῶν,  
Ἐπὶ κεφαλᾷ Συμπληρῶς ἐκδήσομαι·  
Ὅσα δ' ἔστιν ἀντὶ καὶ Καρῶν ἐγνωσμένα,  
Ὅ καὶ μὲν παρ' ὅσων ἔξακριβώσεται λόγῳ.

*What is well known, I shall rehearse  
In brief; what's not, my following Verse  
More largely shall discourse: and show  
What's more obscure, and few yet know.*

---

L O N D O N,

Printed by **Tho. Roycroft**, and are to be sold by **Henry Twysford** in  
Vine-Court Middle-Temple, and **T. Twysford** at the Inner  
Temple-Gate. 1658.

THE HISTORY OF

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THE HISTORY OF

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THE HISTORY OF



TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE,  
JOHN Lord GLYN,  
*Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Upper-Bench.*

MY LORD,

 Esteem my self happy that before my Journey to another World, (which I foresee, I am shortly to undertake) I have in readinesse to present to your Lordship ANTONINUS his ITINERARY through BRITAIN: Not that I conceive the Present of that Worth that your Lordship can be much concerned in it; but that I am able to leave some Testimony behinde me, of my Gratitude and Observance, which you (my Lord) may challenge by so many Names: for, not to mention the particular favours conferr'd on my self, I can never think on those you have bestowed on my neer Relations, without the highest Sentiments of a gratefull Heart. Nor ought I to forget the happinesse I enjoy by my Interest in our Nationall Rights (though a poor Proletarian) under the prudent Administration of your Lordship; who like another Papinian (whose Story this Work affordeth) may be justly stiled (a) *Juris Asylum & doctrinae Legalis Thesaurus*. That I might testifie my Obligations after this sort, I have been encouraged from the Nature of the Subject, which is a piece of Antiquity, and that no sterile piece (such as too many are employ'd on) but such as may serve to illustrate the History of our Nation; which I take to be a study most proper to the Lawyer. (b) Dr. Cowel tells us, that the Common Law of England, is nothing but a mixture of the Roman Civill Law, with some severall customs; and though this Discourse professeth not to teach ought of that Law, yet it contains the Story of the whole Roman Government here, which lasted near CCCLX. years, and a diligent Student surely may hence gather

(a) Spartian.  
in Caracalla.

(b) In Praefat.  
Instit.



(c) Janus An-  
glorum.

Mr Selden

(d) Lipsius in  
Epist. Cent. 1.  
Epist. XXII.

(e) Or is at least  
supposed to be  
the Emperour  
Antoninus  
Pius.

some particulars that may give light to our present *Laws* ;  
and therefore it was, without doubt, that Mr. Selden in that  
(c) Book of his, where he sets down the *Originall* of our  
*Laws*, does not omit the *History* of the *Roman Times*. And if  
the *Lawyer* be the fittest student, who can be so apt a *Patron*  
as your *Lordship*, who is the *Father* of the *Law* ? For mine  
own performance herein, it is a *Commentary* that hath cost  
me many years study, and I may, without breach of mo-  
desty, say, it has been approv'd by him, then whom in this  
or any kind of *Phylologie* no man knew more; yet do I not  
recommend it as an object of your *Lordships* study, which  
I wel know is conversant about matters of a higher pitch,  
but onely pray that under your *Patronage* and *Protection*,  
it may come into the hands of the *Lovers* of *Antiquity*, and  
particularly of the *Students* of the *Law* ; And though this  
stranger will not presse upon your *Lordships* *Business* and  
more *serious Studies*, in which the *Good* of so many persons  
are concerned, yet he craves leave to attend you in your  
*Circuits* and *Recesses*, where, perchance, he may point to  
some *Monuments* of that *glorious Nation*, both of *Persons* and  
*things*, not unworthy your observation. The pleasure of  
such *Contemplations* are so great, that (d) *Lipsius* was not  
able to expresse it, *Quanti* (saith he) & *quam arcani gaudii*  
*ista visio ? Cum non animo solum, sed pæne oculis sese inferunt*  
*Manes illi magni & sola premimus pressa toties ipsis*. My Lord,  
the Person that thus offers his service, is no lesse then a  
*Roman* (e) *Emperour*, to that purpose I have set him forth as  
like himself as I could, and better (I may say without  
ostentation) then he has elsewhere appeared; if not suffici-  
ently well, the worthinesse of his *Person* may plead my  
excuse, who, as I have endeavoured to do him *due Rites*, so  
had I by doing it in this *publike manner* no other ayme, then  
to let your *Lordship* and the *World* know, that I am

My Lord,

Your Lordships most gratefull

and faithfull servant,

W. B U R T O N.



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An Index of such British and Saxon words as  
occurr in this Treatise, especially in  
names of Places.

A.

*Alcluith*, petra Cluith.  
*Avon*, caput fluminis.

B.

*Ban*, a high noted place.  
*Bederick*, luckie.  
*Belin*, yellow.  
*Benna*, vehiculum.  
*Bod*, a mansion.  
*Bourne*, a torrent. Sax.  
*Briga* or *Briva*, a City.  
*Brith* or *Gnith*, a Separation.  
*Bulch*, a partition.

C.

*Cam*, any thing that windes.  
*Cester*, a City.  
*Comb*, a Vally or bottome.  
*Cruc Maur*, a great Hill.

D.

*Delgive*, Idolorum statuz.  
*Dinas*, a City.  
*Donr guent*, the white water  
*Donr whern*, fluvius rapidus or aqua  
ex alneto fluens.  
*Dorbryf*, a quick streame.  
*Donr*, water.  
*Donr arguern*, aqua juxta paludem.  
*Dufyrrha*, a keep place.  
*Duriob*, rubra aqua.  
*Dunns* a Hill.

F.

*Foffwad*, digging.

G.

*Gesum*, a weapon.  
*Glans*, a bank or stone.  
*Godmundingham*, Deorum fanum.

*Gron*, fennie.  
*Gual*, vallum.  
*Gual Hen*, antiquum vallum.  
*Guent*, white.

H.

*Hean*, old.  
*Henford*, an old way.  
*Hith*, an Haven.

L.

*Leach*, stones.  
*Lettui*, diversoria.  
*Lhan*, a Temple.  
*Lhin*, a Lake.  
*Lhong* a Ship  
*Lugos*, a Tower, or as others, a Crow.

M.

*Magus*, a Town or House.  
*Main*, a stone.  
*Morgan*, one borne at Sea.

R.

*Ratis*, Ferne.  
*Rwyd*, Speed.  
*Ryd* } a Ford.  
*Rith* }  
*Ryd Tufith*, a Ford obstructed with  
Sand.

T.

*Tascia*, tributi denarius.  
*Tasdyd*, præcipuus tributi collector.

W.

*Wire*, a woody Laune.  
*Wic*, a Castle. Sax.

Y.

*Ynis Rbuechins*, the Rutupian Island.  
*Ys*, low.

An



An Alphabetical INDEX of the severall  
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mentioned in this  
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Out of *William Harrison*; for he is the Author  
of the three Books of the Description of *Britain*, Printed  
with *Ralph Hollinshed's History of England* in his first Edition  
thereof.

PROECDOSIS

*Itinerarii Augusti Vulgo dicti juxta primum exemplar Guilielmi Har-  
risoni, Antiquarii Britannici, in fine Descriptionis ejusdem.*

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO  
Pratorio usque M. P. CLVI. sic :

**C**Orstopitum, M. P. XX.  
Vindomora, M. P. IX.  
Viconia, † M. P. XIX. *Vinovia, Vi-  
novium.*

Cataraſtoni, M. P. XXII. *Darrington.*  
Isurium, M. P. XXIV. *Aldbozough alias  
Topcliffe.*

Eburacum legio VI. Victrix, M. P.  
XVII. *Bozk.*

Deruntione, M. P. VII. *Ladcaster.*  
Delg-ovitia, M. P. XIII. *Wentbridge.*  
Pratorio, M. P. XXV. *Tudfozd.*

ITEM A VALLO AD POR-  
tum Ritupis, M. P. 481. 491. sic :

Castra exploratorum, M. P. X. 15.  
Lugu-vallo, M. P. XII. *alias a Lugu-valio.  
Carleill.*

Voreda, M. P. XIV.  
Verteris, M. P. XX. 13.  
Lavatris, M. P. XIV.

Cataraſtone, M. P. *Caturraſtonium. Da-  
rington.*

Isuriam, M. P. XXIV. *Iforiam. Aldbo-  
zough, alias Topcliffe.*

Eburacum, M. P. XVIII. *Eboracum Bozk.*  
Calcaria, M. P. IX. *Cacaria.*

Camboduno, M. P. XX.  
Mannuncio, M. P. XVIII. *Manucio.*

Cer. M. P. XVIII.  
Devalegio, XXIII. CI. M. P. XX.

Mediolano, M. P. XX.  
Rutunio, M. P. XII.

Urio Conio, M. P. VI. *Viroconium,  
Shrewesbury prope.*

Uxacona, M. P. XI.

Penno-Crucio, M. P. XII.

Etoceto M. P. XII.

Mandues Sedo, M. P. XVI.

Venonis, M. P. XII.

Lactorodo, M. P. XII. *Lactodoro.*

Maginto, M. P. XVII. 12. *Magiovintum.*

Duro-Cobravis, M. P. XII. *Dunstable.*

Vero-Lamio, M. P. XII. *S. Albans.*

Sullomacis, M. P. IX. *Warnet.*

Longidinio, M. P. XII. *Londinio London.*

Noviomago, M. P. XII.

Vagniacis, M. P. VI.

Durobrovis, M. P. V. *Duroprovis, Ro-  
chester.*

Durolevo, M. P. XVI. 8.

Duror-verno, M. P. XII. *Droverno, Duro-  
verno.*

Ad portum Ritupis, M. P. XII. *Durar-  
venno, Darverno.*

ITEM A LONDINIO

ad portum Dubris, M. P. 56.

66, sic :

Dubobrus, M. P. XXVII. *Durobrovis, Du-  
robrius, Rochester 58.*

Durarvenno, M. P. XV, 25. *Canterbury.*

Ad portum Dubris, M. P. XIV. *Dober-  
haben.*

ITEM A LONDINIO AD

portum Lemanis M. P. 68. sic :

Durobrius, M. P. XXVII. *Rochester.  
B Durar-*



Duravenno, M.P.XV. 25. Canterbury.  
Adportum Lemani, M.P.XVI. Limming  
haben.

### ITEM A LONDINIO

Lugu-Valio ad Vallum,

M.P.443. sic :

Caesaromago, M.P.XXVIII.

Colonia, M.P.XXIV.

Villa Faustini, M.P. XXXV. 25.

Icianos, M.P.XVIII.

Camborico, M.P. XXXV.

Duroliponte, M.P.XXV.

Durobrivas, M.P. XXXV.

Gaufennis, M.P.XXX.

Lindo, M.P. XXXVI.

Dano, M.P.XXI.

Lege-Olio, M.P.XVI.

*Logetium.*

Eburaco, M.P.XXI.

Ifu, M.P. XVI,

Cataractoni, M.P.XXIV.

Levatrix, M.P. XVIII.

*Levatrix.*

Verteris, M.P.XIV.

Lugu-Vallo, M.P.XXV. 22.

### ITEM A LONDINIO

Lindo, M.P. 156. sic :

Verolami, M.P.XXI.

Duro Cobrius, M.P.XII.

Magiovinio, M.P.XII.

*Maginto.*

Lactodoro, M.P.XVI.

*Magis.*

Isanna Vantia, M.P.XII.

*Isanna vatia.*

Tripontio, M.P.XII.

*Isanna varia.*

Venonis, M.P.IX.

Ratas, M.P. XII.

Verometo, M.P.XIII.

Margi-duno, M.P.XII.

Croco Calana, M.P.VII.

*Crorolana.*

Lindo, M.P. XII.

### ITEM A REGNO

Londinio, M.P. 116,

96. sic :

Clausentum, M.P.XX.

Venta, M.P. X.

Galleua, M.P.XXII.

*Gelleua.*

Pontibus, M.P.XXII. *Keding.*

*Calliva.*

*Walingfozd.*

Londinio, M.P.XXII.

### ITEM AB EBURACO

Londinium, M. P. 227. sic :

Lagecio, M.P.XXI.

Dano, M.P.XVI.

*Dancaster.*

Lindo, M.P.XIV.

Crococalano, M.P. XIV.

Margi-duno, M.P.XIV.

Vernemeto, M.P. XII.

*Verometo.*

Ratis, M.P. XII.

Vennonis, M.P.XII.

Magio Vinio, M.P. XXVIII.

Durocobrius, M.P.XII.

*Dunstable.*

Verolamo, M.P. XII.

*S. Albanes.*

Sullomaca, M.P.IX.

*Barnet.*

Londinio, M.P. XII.

*London.*

### ITEM A VENTA ICINORUM

Londinio, M.P. 128. sic :

Sitomago, M.P. XXXI.

Combretovio, M.P.XXII.

*Cumbretonio.*

Camoloduno, M.P. VI.

Canonio, M.P. IX.

Caesaromago, M.P. XII.

Durolito, M.P. XVI.

Londinio, M.P. XV.

### ITEM A GLAMOVENTA

Mediolano, M.P. 150. sic :

Galava, M.P. XVIII.

Galacum, M.P. XIX.

*Galacum.*

Coccio, M.P. XX.

Mancunio, M.P. XVIII.

*Mammucio vel*

*Manucio.*

Condate, M.P. XVIII.

Mediolano, M.P. XIX.

### ITEM A SEGONCIO

devam, M.P. 74. sic :

Canovio, M.P. XXIV.

Varis, M.P. XIX.

Deva, M.P. XXXII.

### ITEM A CALLEVA alias MU-

ridono, alias Viroconiorum.

*Per Viroconiu m.*

Vindonu, M.P. XV.

*Vindomi.*

Venta, M.P. XXI.

Sorvioduni, M.P. IX.

Vindogladia, M.P. XIII. 15.

Durnovaria, M.P. VIII.

Muriduno, M.P. XXXVI.

Scadum Nunniorum, M.P. XV. 12.

*Isca-*  
*dum.*

Leucaro, M.P. XV.

Nido, M.P. XV.

Iscelegua Augusti, M. P. XIV.

*Iscelegia.*

Burrio, M.P. IX.

*Gobannio*



Gobannio, M.P. XII.  
Magnis, M.P. XXII.  
Viriconio, M.P. XXVII.

ITEM AB ISCA CALLEVA,  
M.P. 109. sic :

Barrio, M.P. IX.  
Clevo, M.P. XV.  
Durocornovio, M.P. XIV.  
Spinis, M.P. XV.  
Calleva, M.P. XV.

ITEM ALIO ITINERE A B

Isca Calleva, M.P. 103. sic :  
Venta Silurum, M.P. IX.  
Traiectus, M.P. IX.

Verlucione, M.P. XV.  
Cunetione, M.P. XX.  
Spinis, M.P. XV.  
Calleva, M.P. XV.

ITEM A CALLEVA IS-  
cadum Nunniorum, M.P.  
136. sic :

Vindomi, M.P. XV.  
Venta, M.P. XXI.  
Sorbiodoni, M.P. VIII.  
Vindocladia, M.P. XII.  
Durnonovaria, M.P. VIII. *Durnovaria.*  
Moriduno, M.P. XXXVI.  
Isca dum Nunniorum, M.P. XV.

Out of ROBERT TALBOT.

*What I have spoken ought to have that consideration and regard, that I might, as well as I could, declare how much this one little Book ought to be weighed, and esteemed of, which contains under ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS his Name, the waies and Journeys of all the Provinces of the Roman Empire, which yeildeth to us an income of so wonderfull Profit, that it affords most clear light to Strabo, Pomponius, Mela, Pliny, most excellent Authors in the explication of the whole World, as it were in great darkness. So far Robert Talbot.*

Out of the Preface of the famous man Andrew Schot, set before Antoninus Edition of *Surita* at Coleyn CIO. 106. IX.

Rutilius \* Nematianus afforded us his Itinerary in Elegiack Verses, but Antonius, or whether he is Antoninus Augustus in bare name, which in a Land-Journey, and military way and march, the Roman Captains made use of (of which kind we see some in Italy and fewer in Spain used by Passengers, where at this day they are carried on horses which are appointed for speed.) But for Itinerary Tables, which are very usefull in matter of War, *Fl. Vegetius* is to be seen *lib. III. De re Militari, cap. VI.* Of what kind of Military Tables the famous man *Mark Velfer*, one of the seven Magistrates of the Common-Wealth of *Auspurg*, very well deserving of all Antiquity, lately found out in the Library of *Conrade Pentinger*, a noble man there, and also adorned with *Scholias*, or Notes. But *Ortelius* our friend (the Prince of Geographers) set forth all of it also cut into Brasse; by the Printing of *John Moret*: in which kind I think nothing of ancient Monuments to be extant, either to be preferred, or comparable to it.

\* whose learnedest Edition is that of Caspar Barthius.

I can bring nothing of certainty concerning the Writer; Onely thus much, That this Itinerary may seem to be written by some learned Measurer of Land well acquainted with the places: but afterwards who by the command of some Emperour, it is likely after *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus Pius*, for good lucks sake retained the Sirname, and publickly took the name and authority of *Antoninus Augustus*; although most old  
Books



Books have *Antonii*, perhaps by the usuall fault of the Transcribers, whereby they often confound *Constantius* and *Constantinus*. *Jerome Surita* a very learned Spaniard, prefers this Work to *Antoninus* the Son of *Severus*, by reason of the mention of certain places of BRITAIN: but Critiques contend, and the strife is still before the Judge. Now it appears that such an Itinerary was composed for the Captains and Souldiers with the Proconsulls and Pretors marching into the Provinces, least they should mistake their way, and fall into ambushes, mistaking the right way. How necessary these Itineraries were *Fl. Vegetius* is the Author, and *St. Ambrose* in his Sermon upon the CXVIII Psalm. Now the way did not alwaies lead strait, as at this day, but wheeling about, yet more beaten and safe, which are called by *Ammianus*, the Kings High-way, and the Souldiers way and wonted Journeys. Concerning High-waies, *Galen* the Prince of Physicians is to be seen lib. IX. cap. VIII. *Methodius* & *Procopius* in the beginning of the second Book, *de bello Persico*; "He writes: I believe that the City *Strata* was so called by the Romans "from the Military way which they called *Strata*. It remains that the ac-

\* That this Itinerary was composed under the Empire of Antoninus Basia-

nus the Emperour, the Son of *Severus*, in the beginning of the British Journeys shall be shewed, that I was by conjecture perswaded. But Reader, if thou pleasest, see the very place.

count of my undertaking may appear: for this was principally intended while I searchd forth the Notes of *Jerome Surita*, a learned man, upon the Itinerary of \* *Augustus*, which lay hidden in the dark.

### Out of John Annius of Viterbium.

*Antoninus Pius Caesar Augustus* wrote an Itinerary. Now the Itineraries which we have now are not *Antoninus's*, but collected perhaps out of some fragments of some former, to which many things added, many things diminished, more things changed: an argument whereof, you have (a) two Fragments; for the first Fragment, it belongs to the Preface: but to this which we have in our hands belongs no Preface; besides the common ones use no miles, which the *Italians* alone do use. Again, the common ones make use of the succession of Townes, because you have described all the Journeys of the World in all Nations: which succession of Townes is without miles, whence it appears that (b) *Florence* was not in the time of *Antoninus*; by which it appears, that these vulgar Books are not all of *Antoninus*, but that there is a great corruption of the Book by men in after times through addition, and diminution, procured by private mens doings.

(a) Certain'y Annius means by all this the confounding of Antoninus with Aethicus, concerning which we have spoken sufficiently, presently after the beginning of this book.  
(b) By all means see Angelus Politians Epistles, one of the first of the first Book.

### Out of John Leland, Antiquary under Henry the eighth.

*Antoninus* lived in the times of *Constantine* the Great, for he mentions *Constantinopolis*, *Dioclesianopolis*, *Maximinopolis*, so unlikely it is, that  
*Antoninus*



*Antoninus* the Emperour wrote the *Itinerary*, which goes about commonly in his name.

Out of the excellent Doctor Usher in his learned Book which he hath Intituled, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*,  
pag. 78.

Hence also in the *Itinerary* (to which the ordinary Books give the title of *Antoninus* \* *Flodoardus* of *Æthicus*; but the old MS. of *Scotus*.)

*Roma, Romani*. Hence came those words (a) *Russian*, *Rumney*, used by the old Britains, and others.

\* *Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas*,  
Great alterations grow by length of Time.

\* *Flodoard.*  
*Hist. Remens.*  
*eccles. lib. I. cap.*  
*I. Thomas*  
(a) *Pro. Alastore vel Sicario a Romanis.*  
\* *Virg. Æneidos. lib. 3.*  
*Dempster. Hist. Ecclesiastic. Scot. lib. I. p. 60.*

Out of William Harrisons *second Edition* in the  
same place.

A LIMITE, ID EST A VAL-  
lo prætorio usq; M.P. CLVI. sic:

A Bramenio Corstopitum, M.P. XX.  
Vindomora, M.P. IX. 5.  
Viconia, M. P. XIX. *Vinovia, Vinovium.*  
Cataractoni, M.P. XXII.  
Isurium, M.P. XXIV. 8.  
Eburacum legio VI. Viatrix, M.P. XVII.  
Derventione, M.P. VII.  
Delgovitia, M.P. XIII.  
Prætorio, M. P. XXV.

ITEM A VALLO AD POR-  
tum Ritupis, M.P. CCCC.  
LXXXI. 491. sic.

Ablato Bulgio castra exploratorum, M.P.  
X. 15. *alias a Blato.*  
Lugu- vallo, M.P. XII. *alias a Lugu- valio.*  
*Cairleil.*  
Voreda, M.P. XIV. *Wederad.*  
Brovonacis, M.P. XIII. *Bravoniacis.*  
*Burgham.*  
Verteris, M.P. XX. 13. *Wharton.*  
Lavatris, M.P. XIV. *Loththier.*  
Cataractone, M.P. XVI. *Caturraetonium.*  
*Crynton, Britobzioge,*

Isuriam, M.P. XXIV. *Isoriam.*  
Eburacum, M.P. XVIII. *Eboracum.*  
Calcaria, M.P. IX. *Cacaria. Helcatter.*  
Camboduno, M.P. XX. *Cambozough.*  
Mammuncio, M.P. XVIII. *Manucio.*  
*Standish.*

Condate, M.P. XVIII. 39.  
Deva legio XXIII. CI. M.P. XX.  
Bovio, M.P. X. 44. *Bonio.*  
Mediolano, M.P. XX.  
Rutunio, M.P. XII.  
Urto Conio, M.P. XI. *Viroconium.*  
Uxacona, M.P. XI.  
Penno- Crucio, M. P. XII.  
Etoceto, M.P. XII. *Utoxeeter, Utceter,*  
*Louceter.*

Mandues Sedo, M.P. XVI. *Dansfield.*  
Venonis, M.P. XII. *Colewestford. Weber.*  
*Wansford.*

Bennaventa, M.P. XVII. *Banna venta.*  
Lactorodo, M.P. XII. *Lactodoro.*  
Maginto, M.P. XVII. 12. *Magiovintum.*  
*Stony Stratford.*

Duro- Cobravis, M.P. XII. *Dunstable.*  
Vero- Lamio, M.P. XII. *S. Albans.*  
Sullomacis, M.P. IX. *Barnet. Shelney,*  
*between S. Stephens and Althe.*  
b *Longidinio,*



Longidinio, M.P. XII. Londini. London.  
Noviomago, M.P. X. Leusham.  
Vagniacis, M.P. XVIII. Maidston.  
Durobrovis, M.P. IX. Duroprovis. Roche-

Her.  
Durolevo, M.P. XVI. 13. Sittlingbozne.  
Talb.

Duror-Verno, M.P. XII. Droverno, Duro-  
verno, Durarvenno, Darverno.  
Ad portum Ritupis, M.P. XII.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD  
portum Dubris, M.P. LVI. 66. sic:

Dubobrus, M.P. XXVII. Durobrovis, Du-  
robrius.

Durarvenno, M.P. XV. 25.  
Ad portum Dubris, M.P. XIV. Dover ha-  
ven.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD  
portum Lemanis, M.P. LXVIII.

fic: Durobrius, M.P. XXVII.  
Durarvenno, M.P. XV. 25.  
Ad portum Lemanis, M.P. XVI. Lymne,  
Talb.

ITEM A LONDINIO LUGU-  
valio ad Vallum, M.P.  
CCCCXLIII. sic:

Casaromago, M.P. XXVIII. Chelmsford,  
Talb.

Colonium, M.P. XXIV.  
Villa Faustini, M.P. XXXV. 25. Halled.  
Icianos, M.P. XVIII. Erney by Peter-  
market. Hincson between Cambridge  
and Waldoz.

Camborico, M.P. XXXV. Cambridge.  
Talb. Comberton, three miles from  
Cambridge.

Duroliponte, M.P. XXV. Huntington,  
Talbot.

Durobrivas, M.P. XXXV. Stamford,  
Talb. Peterborough.

Gaufennis, M.P. XXX. Casteven. Thec-  
ford. Ancaster. Deeping.

Lindo, M.P. XXVI.  
Segeloci, M.P. XIV. Agle.

Dano, M.P. XXI.  
Lege Olio, M.P. XVI. Logetium. Pont-  
fract.

Ebucaro, M.P. XXI.

Ifubrigantum, M.P. XVI. Isurium Bri-  
gantum.

Cataraconi, M.P. XXIV. Catarick,  
bridge.

Levatrix, M.P. XVIII. Levatrix.

Verteris, M.P. XIV. Wharton.

Brocovo, M.P. XX. Brocovicum.

Lugu-Vallo, M.P. XXV. 22.

ITEM A LONDINIO LINDO,  
M.P. CLVI. sic:

Verolami, M.P. XXI.  
Duro Cobrius, M.P. XII. Stony Strat-  
ford.

Magiovinio, M.P. XII. Maginto

Lactodoro, M.P. XVI. Bedford } Magis.

Isanna Vantia, S. Preedes } Isanna vatia.

M.P. XII. Tripontio, Capston. } Isanna varia.

M.P. XII.

Venonis, M.P. IX. Stanford.

Ratas, M.P. XII. Rage, Pottingham, Ca-  
per, Ruffozts.

Verometo, M.P. XIII. Gantham.

Margi-duno, M.P. XII.

Ad Pontem, M.P. VII. Pons Alii.

Croco Calana, M.P. VII. Bonston.

Lindo, M.P. XII. Crocolano.

Creke, Crouland.

ITEM A REGNO, Ringwood.

Londinio, M.P. CXVI. 96. sic:

Clausentum, M.P. XX. Portsmouth.

Venta Belgarum, M.P. X. } Winchcomb.

Vendomi, Fulc. } Calleva.

Gallea Atrebatum, } Gellea, Gilsford.

M.P. XXII. 140. } Calleva.

Pontibus, M.P. XXII.

Londinio, M.P. XXII.

ITEM A B E B U R A C O.

Londinium, M.P. CCXXVII.

fic:

Dano, M.P. XVI.

Ageloco, M.P. XXI. Segoloco.

Lindo, M.P. XIV.

Crococalano, M.P. XIV. Gantham.

Talb.

Margi-duno, M.P. XIV.

Vernemeto, M.P. XII. Verometo.

Ratis, M.P. XII.

Vennonis, M.P. XII.

Bannavanto



Bannavanto, M.P. XIX. *Portsmouth.*  
Magio Vinio, M.P. XXVIII. *Stony-  
stratford.*

Durocobrius, M.P. XII. *Dunstable.*  
Verolamo, M.P. XII.  
Londinio, M.P. XXI.

Item A VENTA ICINORUM.  
Londinio, M.P. CXXVIII.

fic:

Sitomago, M.P. XXXI.  
Combretovio, M.P. XXII. *Cumbretonio.  
Ipswich. T.*

Ad Ansam, M.P. XV. *Catwarbridge. T.*  
Camoloduno, M.P. VI, &c. *Colnecester.*  
Canonio, P.M. IX. *Esterford, i. Keldon.  
Talb. Colne.*

Cæsaromago, M.P. XII. *Chelmsford.*  
Duroloito, M.P. XVI. *Burntwood. Talb.*  
Londinio, M.P. XV.

ITEM A GLAMO VENTA  
Mediaolano, M.P. CL. fic:

Galava, M.P. XVIII. *Welford.*  
Alone, M.P. XII. *Alanna, Aliona, Alione.  
Aleyton, Coventre.*

Galacum, M. P. XIX. *Galacum, Brigna-  
tum. Lichfield.*

Bremetonaci, M.P. XXVII. *Trentham.*  
Coccio, M.P. XX, &c. *Congleton.*  
Mancunio, M.P. XVIII. *Mammucio vel  
Manucio.*

Condate, M. P. XVIII. *Standish.*  
Mediolano, M.P. XIX. *Lancaster.*

ITEM A SEGONTIO DE-  
vam, M.P. LXXIV. fic:

Canovio, M.P. XXIV. *Conway.*  
Varis, M.P. XIX. *Barrow, Barrow.  
Denbigh.*  
Deva, M.P. XXXII. *Bot, bary in  
Asaph. Diocest.*

ITEM A CALEVA, *alias MU-  
ridono, alias Viroconiorum.*  
*Per Viroconium.*

Vindonu, M.P. XV. *Vindomi.*  
Venta Belgarum, M.P. XXI.  
Brige, M.P. XI. *Brage.*  
Sorvioduni, M.P. IX.  
Vindogladia, M.P. XIII.  
Durnovaria, M.P. VIII. *Durnegnier.  
Dorchester.*

Muriduno, M.P. XXXVI.

Scadum Nunniorum, M.P. XV. 12. *Isca-  
dum.*

Leucaró, M.P. XV. *Legcasser.*

Bomio, M.P. XV. *Remi citra Landaf.  
pass. in Fulcon. transpos. Nido, Bomio.*

Nido, M.P. XV. *Peth.*

Iscelegua Augusti, M.P. XIV. *Iscelegia.*

Burrio, M.P. IX.

Gobannio, M.P. XII.

Magnis, M.P. XXII. *Donmouth.*

Bravinio, M.P. XXIV. *Brovonio. Bridges  
north.*

Viriconio, M.P. XXVII. *Wirconcestir.*

ITEM AB ISCA CALLEVA,  
M.P. CIX. fic:

Burrio, M.P. IX. *Bisso. Barkley.*  
Blestio, M.P. XI. *Gobannio, Copen-  
ham, Camby.*

Ariconio, M.P. XI.

Clevo, M.P. XV.

Durocornovio, M.P. XIV. *Hungerford.*

Spinis, M.P. XV.

Calleva, M.P. XV.

ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB  
Isca Calleva, M.P. CIII. fic:

Venta Silurum, M. P. IX. *Chepstow.*

Abone, M.P. IX. *Brightstow.*

Trajectus, M.P. IX.

Aquis Solis, M. P. VI.

Verlucione, M.P. XV. *Warmister. Talb.*

Chipnam. *Wilton.*

Cunetione, M.P. XX. *Barlebury.*

Spinis, M.P. XV. *Pubery, Spinham  
lands.*

Calleva, X.P. XV.

ITEM A CALLEVA ISCADUM  
Nunniorum, M. P. CXXXVI.

fic:

Vindomi, X P. XV.

Venta Belgarum, M.P. XXI. *Witney.*

Brige, M.P. XI. *Brightstow.*

Sorbiodoni, M.P. VIII.

Vindocladia, M.P. XII.

Durnonovaria, M.P. IX. *Durnovaria,*

*Dorchester,*

Moriduno, M.P. XXXVI. *Honiton, So-*

*merton, Couton,*

Iscadum Nunniorum, M.P. XV. *Creter.*

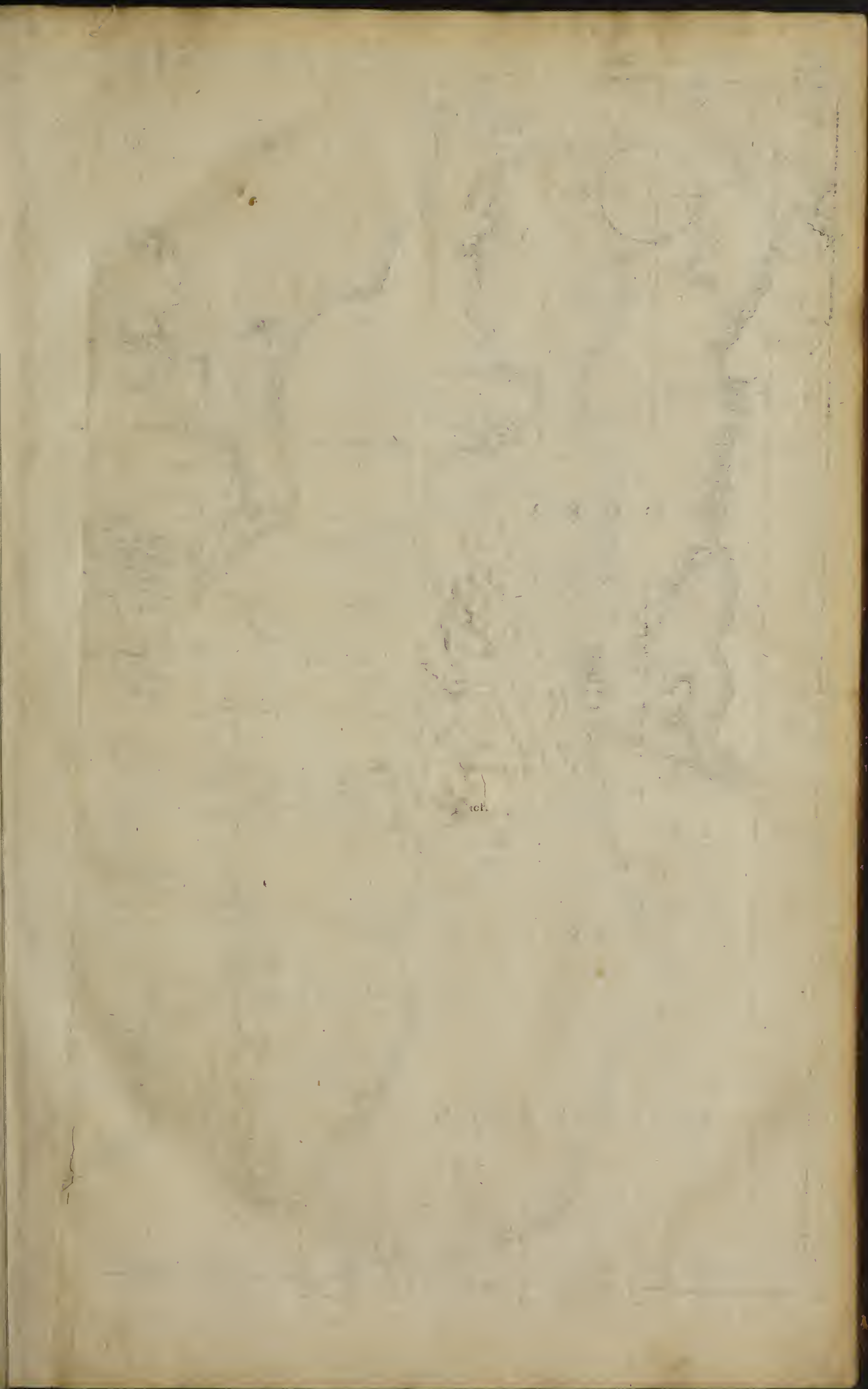
b 2

Doctor



Doctor *Fulck* a singular Ornament in his time, both as a Divine of the University of *Cambridge*, and Antiquary, so illustrated this Itinerary, as I was sometime informed by the Reverend and Learned Primate of *Ireland* Doctor *Usher*, who was also the Author and Occasioner of my undertaking this same Work, as many, yet living, of good credit, can beare sufficient witness. And for me to have omitted a man, by whose diligence our Countrymen had the first notice of this Writer, had been an offence against civill curtesie, and what became Learned men mutually from one another.





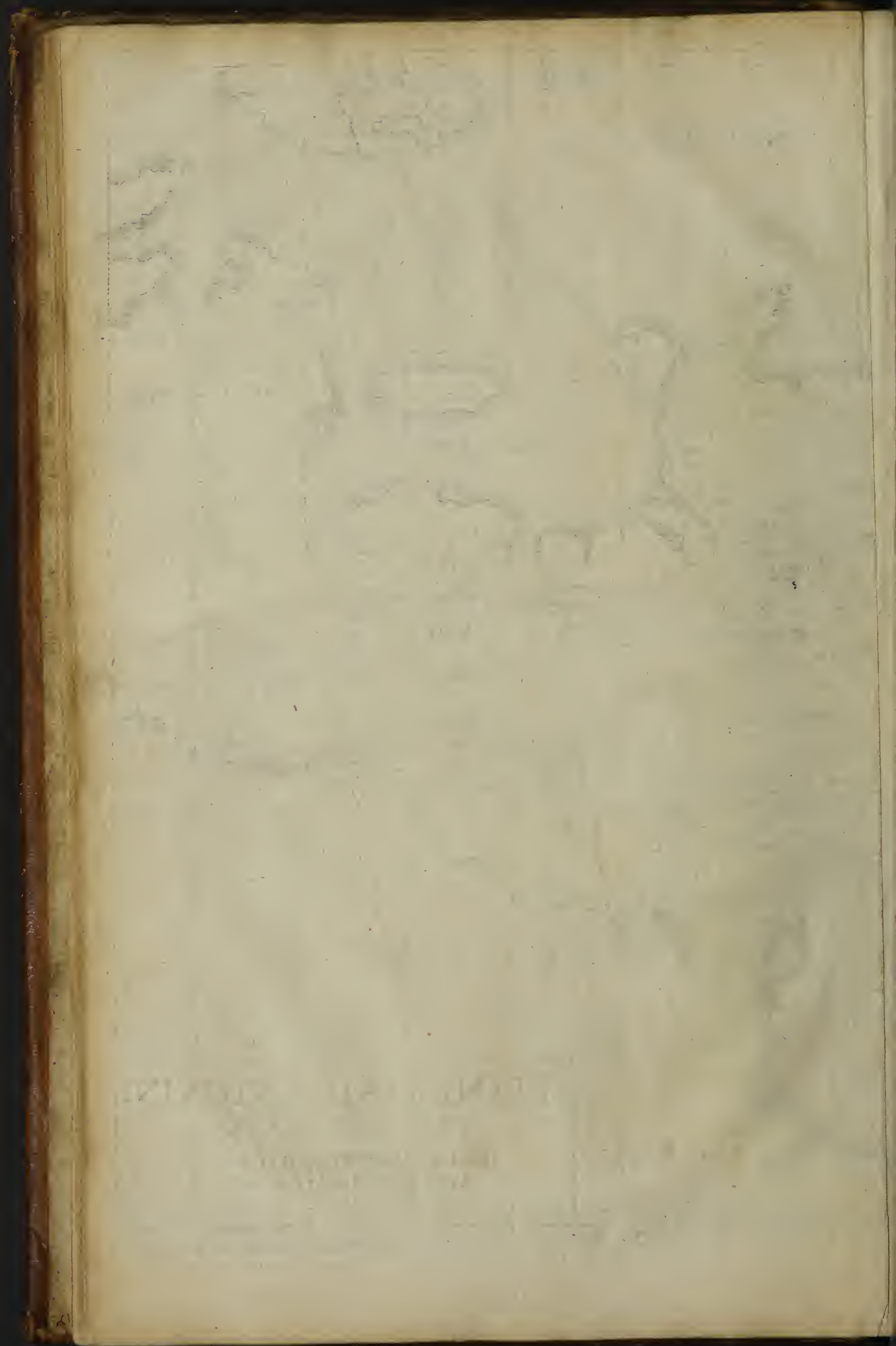














# A COMMENTARY

On the ITINERARY of

ANTONINUS

Concerning BRITAIN.

According to the Editions of *Aldus Manutius*, *William Harrison*,  
*Jofias Sim'er*, *Jerome Surita*, &c.

## ITER BRITANNIARUM.]



TER] The first that ever wrote upon that  
*Itinerary* of the Roman Provinces, which  
goeth commonly under *Antoninus Pius*, the  
Emperor's Name (I mean that part there-  
of which belongeth to *BRITAIN*) was  
one (a) *Robert Talbot*, an *Oxford Student*,  
and Canon of *Norwich*, under *HENR. IIX.*

(a) *Abrah: Or-  
telio in Synon.  
Geogr: in Cef-  
foriacum, per-  
peram Ioannes  
nominatur.*

(b) *Antiquarius  
præstabilis, Io.  
Caio de Antiq:  
Cantabry: lib: 2.  
Antiquitatis  
bene peritus  
Camdeno in  
Icenis. vi. Guil.  
Lambard: Xeno-  
gog: Cant: pag:  
144. & 353.*

*Præfat: item ad  
Matth: Westmo-  
nast: nec non  
v. Balaam  
& Pitseum.*

(c) *In Biblioth:  
Coll: S. Benedi-  
cti Cantabrigie.  
Vide Iameti Ec-  
logam MSS. u-  
triusque Aca-  
demie, & Cai-  
um d.l. pag: 357.*

(d) *Varroni. a-  
pud Noæ Mar-  
cellum & alios.*

(e) *Astronom:  
l.i.*

a man very well skill'd in the Antiquities  
of this Island; as, besides the testimony of many (b) Learned  
men, may appear by some *Collections* of his yet (c) extant,  
and to be seen by such as can obtain the courtesie.

He then in his *Annotations* (so he calls them) upon the *XVI.*  
*Britain Journies*, containing the removes and distances from one  
Station or Garrison to another, is displeased with the very  
*Epigraphe* or Title before them, wishing for *Iter*, to read *Itine-  
rarium Britanniarum*; and so to make this a distinct peice from  
the other before it, which is inscribed, *Itinerarium Provinciarum  
omnium*, &c. His conceit is, that the mistake arose at first from  
the curtail'd writing of the word *IT*. which the *Calligraphus*,  
or Transcriber might at his pleasure, he thinks, make *Iter*, or  
*Itinerarium*, or else he conjectures it might have been written  
abbreviated *ITINER*. which some smattering Copyer (it  
being a word which did never light in his way) might cor-  
rect into *Iter*, although *Itiner* is a word used by good (d) Au-  
thors, and namely by (e) *Mimilius*, a Writer in the time of *Au-  
gustus*, and had in high repute with the Learned'st, in this  
Verse.

*Fecit & ignotis Itiner commercia terris.*

And Travel, 'twixt strange Lands, fix'd mutuell Trade.

C

But



(f) Virgil. E-  
clog. 1.

(g) Claudian:  
Paneg: 8. in  
Consul: Manlii  
Theodori.

(h) Serv. in  
Virg: Ecl: 1.  
Vellejus lib: 2.  
Florus l. 3. c.  
10. &c.

(i) Claudian:  
Paneg: 3. in  
Stilich. Auctor  
Paneg: Con-  
stantio d. Ma-  
viniano falso  
inscript. &c.

(k) Agrippa  
orat. ad Judeos,  
apud Ioseph. de  
Bello Iud:  
lib. 2. Κεφ. Κη.  
in lat. 16.

& ex eo He-  
gesippus lib: 1.  
cap: 20.

(l) Dio. Hist:  
lib: 60.

(m) ἀπερὶ τοῦ  
Clemens Rom.  
ep: a. ad Corinth.  
& Libanius in  
Βασιλικῇ  
ad Constantium  
Imp.

(n) Instit: l. 2.  
tit. 3. ex l. 1. D.  
rust. præd.

(o) De L. L.  
lib: 4.

(p) Apud Ci-  
cer: de L. L. lib:  
1.

(q) Histor: lib:  
8.

\*Stratam, viam  
latini dicunt.  
Procop. de bello  
Persic. lib. 2. in-  
itio v. Scallig: in  
Auson: lect. l. 2.  
c. 27. quem  
vide voce  
Glarea.

(r) Institut: d. l.

† Ad S. Gem-  
mam tertia di-  
eta citra Rô-  
mam. &c.  
parvis dietis  
versus Scotiam  
proficiscens.  
Matth: Westm:  
alique.

But in very deed there are some good reasons, which might seem to confirme this conjecture of his, by which he divides the whole Work into II severall *Itineraries*. For besides that the *Voyages*, or Places which they usually accustomed to touch at in their expeditions by Sea, set down after the recension of our *Britain Stations*, have the Inscription of *Itinerarium maritimum*, not *Iter*, for the *Britains* indeed were generally accounted by the *Romans* themselves, during the severall Ages they continued Masters of them, to be, (f) *toto divisi orbe*, and their Countrey likewise (g) *diducta Mundo*, wholly severed from the World; and therefore not onely by their Poets, but by their graver Writers also, thought worthy to be termed (h) *Alter*, or (i) *Alius Orbis*, and (k) *ἑτέρα οἰκουμένη*, another habitable World. And that not for flourish only, but in very good earnest; in so much that (l) *Dio*, a Consular Historian, tels us, That upon the apprehension hereof, *A. Plantius* his Souldiers were very unwilling to follow him out of *Gaul* in his expedition hither, seriously imagining it to be some service quite out of the World. So that the *Britains* might very well seem to deserve a *Notitia*, or Survey, by themselves apart in the Description of the whole World; Nature having first separated them by the vast, and (sometime thought) (m) *unpassable Ocean*.

More I could say by way of enlarging this Argument, but I purposely forbear, and refer it rather to another place: Only this I add in this behalf, that the word *Iter* doth not so fitly serve the turn in this place. For first of all observe, that here it doth no way exactly agree with what either the great (n) *Lawyer*, or (o) *Varro*, make the signification or meaning of the word to be: in the latter of whom, by the By, I cannot choose but take notice of a *Paradiorthosis*, or false emendation of *Vertranius* in that very place, where he tels us what *Iter* is, reading *militare iter*, for *limitare*; by which *Varro* understands nothing else but a small Path, made in the confines of several mens Land, ordered by a (p) *Law* of the XII. Tables, to be not above V. Foot broad. For had he meant those publick Through-fares, or *Waies*, which the Souldiers raised by uncessant and toilsome labor, for their more convenient march from Station to Station, (call'd by *Ammianus* and others, *Aggeres itinerarii*, and *actus publici*; (q) by *Herodian* *Λεωφόροι ὁδοί*, and \* *Strata* by *Beda*, and such kind of Writers) he would not have sayd *Iter militare*, but *via militaris*, the usuall word indeed; *Via*, as (r) *Justinian* teaches us, containing in it, both *iter*, and *actus*; and in ancient Authors *iter militare*, is only *quantum uno die militari gradu*, as *Vegetius* speaks, *confici possit*, or One dayes march; by *Cæsar* and others call'd *justum iter*; and by barbarous Writers, † *dieta*.

In the second place we may consider, that here are XVI. severall *Itineraries*, or set marches (not to be expressed by the singular



singular *Iter*) described from so many Garrisons to Garrisons, (it is likely of more <sup>\*</sup>esteem and concernment) through others perhaps of less note, here also set down; to signify all which, *Itinerarium* must needs be thought far the more proper and significant notion, by them that understand what it means, and know besides to what excellent purpose such *Itineraria* were first instituted and appointed.

<sup>\*</sup> Ideoq; regales, ut videtur, dicuntur, D. Ambrosio, v. infra.

For they that are conversant in Antiquities of this nature, cannot but take notice, that to set down in writing, & likewise publish their particular Journeys and Marches by the several Camps, Stations, Mansions, and Mutations (so they were called by the Romans, being places from which, in after ages, great Towns and Cities took their Originals) was a thing, for divers useful respects, alwaies observed amongst the better managed and disciplin'd Nations; and it was a business that tended to extraordinary advantage, especially in great Empires and Dominions. The people of *Israel*, who had *G O D* for their Leader through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise, most heedfully observed this course in their whole pilgrimage, even from (t) *Rameses*, the place of their departure out of *Egypt*, to the very Banks of *Jordan*; and that not without the speciall Commandment (u) of *G O D* himself. These are, saies *Moses*, the Journeys of the people of *Israel*, which went forth out of the Land of *Egypt*, with their Armies under the hand of *Moses* and *Aaron*. And *Moses* wrote their goings out according to their Journeys, by the Commandment of the *LORD*; and these are their Journeys according to their goings out. And then he sets down no less then two and forty Journeys, from the beginning of the Chapter to the 50. verse, which S. (x) *Jerom* calls *Catalogum omnium mansionum*, per quas de *Egypto* egrediens populos pervenit usque ad fluentia *Jordanii*. Having passed over *Jordan*, and under the Conduct of their victorious General, either destroyed, or dispossessed the Inhabitants beyond it: (y) three men are appointed out of each Tribe to go through the Land and describe it. And the men went and passed through the Land, and described it by Cities, into seven parts in a Book, and came again to *Joshua* to the Host at *Shiloh*.

(t) Exod: 12. 37.  
(u) Numb; 33. 3, 4, &c. see chap: 21. 10.

(x) In Epitaph: Fabiola ad Oceanum.

(y) Jos: 18. 4. 9.

As for the Kings of *Persia*, we learn from (z) *Herodotus*, that they had the distances from Station to Station, exactly set down through their great and vast Territories. This is to be seen in him by that accurate enumeration of the severall Mansions, from the Sea Coast in the lesser *Asia*, even to *Susa* the Royall Palace; containing in all C. and XI. Mansions: All which described in a brazen Table, with the <sup>\*</sup> *Parasangs* they were distant one from another, *Aristagoras* the Militian brought to *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, intending to urge the advantage he might gain thereby, as a chief Argument to work him to the invasion of *Persia*. Although indeed he miss'd of his aime, by unadvised

(z) In reg: 4. 5. lib: 5.

<sup>\*</sup> What they were, v. infra.



unadvised and over-hastily telling him it would prove an expedition of some three months Journey, before he had made it appear to him with what ease he might perform it; his Marches and Quarter being by that Table before-hand scored out for him. (a) *Buchanan* therefore needed not to have sought so low for the antiquity of Draughts of this kind, as the authority of (b) *Propertius*, Maps and Chorographicall descriptions being of so long standing. And for *Alexander the Great*, we may not imagine that so great a Commander would neglect so requisite and necessary a piece of Souldiership, especially when we find that the *Commentaries* of his Marches were extant in (c) *Plinies* time, described by *Diognetus* and *Beton*, whom he calls *mensores itinerum Alexandri*; and he tells us a little before in the same Chapter, that [*Comites Alexandri M.*] his followers diligently numbred and set down the Townes of that Tract of *India* which they had conquered: and out of some of their *Commentaries*, it is very likely, was taken the summe of the 57. Chap. in *Solinus*, inscribed *Itinerarium Indicum*.

Having spoken of *Alexander*, I may by no meanes leave out his great parallel, *Julius Caesar*, who though he hath left little to this purpose in those immortall *Commentaries* of his owne expedition; yet there are (d) that will tell you, they have seen an *Itinerary* of his, or Description of the World: in which (d) *Gentes & civitates singulae cum suis distantis in itinera anno-tate essent*. But because their Witness may perchance be excepted against by some, being but late Writers, we will therefore hear what *Aethicus* in his *Cosmography* sayes to it, who is indeed an Author ancient enough, as being transcribed in some places by *Paulus Orosius*, in his Histories dedicated to *S. Austin*. *Julius Caesar*, saith *Aethicus*, *Cum Consulatus sui fasces erigeret, ex S. C. censuit, &c.* So soon as he began to exercise his Office of Consul, made an Order, confirmed by a Decree of the Senate, that the whole Roman World should be surveyed and measured by Learned men, and well seen in all parts of Philosophy. In his Consulship, therefore, with *M. Anthony* the World began to be measured; from which time to the \* third Consulship of Augustus which was with *Crassus*, being \* XXI. years V. Months, and IX. dayes, *Zenodotus* was taking a survey of the whole East. From that Consulship of Caesar likewise to Augustus, his being the X Cos. in \* XXIX. years VIII. months and X. dayes time, the Survey of the Northern part of the Empire was brought in by *Theodotus*. From the very same Consulship also of Caesar, to the Consulship of \* Saturninus and *Cinna*, the Southern part was measured by *Policlytus* in \* XXXII. years I. month and X. dayes: So that in about the space of \* XXXII. years, the whole World was surveyed, and a generall account thereof brought in to the Senate. Thus far *Aethicus*: From which relation, we may deservedly observe the greatness and vast extent of the Roman Empire, whose

Notitia

(a) *Rer. Scot. lib: 1.*(b) *Prop. Eleg: 3. lib: 4. Cogor & è tabulâ pictos edificere mundos.*(c) *Plin: lib: 6. cap: 17.*(d) *Ioan: Cuspinian. & Felix Malleolus Dialog: de Nobilit: Descript: orbis a I. Caesar. &c. Baldericus, Novicomensis & Camaracensis Episcopus ante annos prope sexcentos claruit Chronici Cameracensis, et Atebatensis lib: 1. cap: 3. qui jubente Iulii Caesaris ex S. C. ab eruditiss. De Cosmographia inscribitur ubi quidē vetus Rom: nominis universa loca famosa distinguit. Vide etiam Clariss: Vossium de L. hist: lib: 1. cap: 13. Nec non Casparem Barthium lib: 14. cap: 8.*(e) *Que habet Oros: de Britannia specula, lib: 1. cap: 2. uti & alia non paucā, ex Aethico transcribit.*

\* IV.

\* XVII.

\* XXIII.



Notitia, or Survey, was not taken under such a time, although just exception may be made against the account of years here, as also in respect of the Consuls Names; in both which he is foully out: And out of this very place of *Æthicus*, I presume (else I am to seek whence) is taken that which I find in a *Farrago* of divers things, published when Printing first began among us, as you may easily see by the English of it; \* *Julius Caesar* used in his time to insearche and mesured the World in length and brecde, and did make therof grete Wokes, and of all the Partes, Contrays and Provinces, and Mondres in him contayned; and that Woke accorded to Bartylmew, and to Marcus Paulus, and to Claudius Tholomeus, and to the grete Arystotell that went with Stondyng, and ben proved trewe be many dyvers resonable probynges, &c. We make use of \* *Simlers* Edition, which we conceive the best as bad as it is, till such time as we shall have the good hap to meet with *Salmasius* his *Æthicus*, † great hopes of which he gives us in more then one place. In the mean while, see *Baronius* in the \* *Apparatus* to his *Annals*.

\* Pag: 65.

\* *Basilea An:*  
∞ 15.  
LXXV.

† Longe diffi-  
milis a vulga-  
to *Aethico*.

*Salm. ad Aug:*  
*Hist: Script: p.*  
140.

\* *Appar: Sect.*  
97. 98.

Now that which here chiefly we shall take into our cognizance, will be, first, To examine who this *Aethicus* was; and secondly, Whether *Cuspinian*, and *Malleolus*, and others, who take upon them to have seen an *Itinerary*, or Description of the World under *Julius Caesars* name, do not mean this very peice of *Æthicus*, with *Antoninus's Itinerary*, as they are commonly joyned together.

For *Æthicus*, he is called by some *Sophista*, ex *Istria oriundus*; by our most admired (f) *Francis Bacon*, he is stiled *Astronomus*. But you must take notice that they have two distinct *Cosmographicall* Works, which bear the name of *Æthicus*: this vulgar one, which hath often been Printed, and another never yet published, joyned to the other *Aethicus* in *Thuanus's MSS.* but I have seen it in the *Bodleian Library* in the same Volume with an ancient *Solinus* in Parchments. In some Copies it bears this Title, *Incipit liber Aethici Philosophico editus oraculo, ab Hieronymo presbytero translatus in latinum, ex Cosmographia & mundi scriptura.* In the Preface you shall find, *Hic Aethicus Istria regione Sophista clauit, primusque codices suos Cosmographiam nuncupavit.* And yet *Aethicus Ister philosophus* is often urged in this very Book, which is the same, I dare boldly say, which *Bacon* and others mention, and it is cited by (g) *Lilias Giraldus*, under the Title of *Antiquitatis Historia, quæ ab Hieronymo in Latinum sermonem è Græco conversæ creduntur*: A Book indeed containing many things fabulous, and foolish, and unworthy *S. Jeromes* pains in the translating, if he ever did it. The vulgar printed *Æthicus*, whom we have now to do withall (termed *Monstrorum vocabulorum auctor*, by \* *Ortelius*) in *Thuanus* his ancient written Copy, is called *Julius Orator* (a Writer mentioned by *Cassiodorus*) as (h) *Salmasius*, who had the use thereof, Wit-

(f) *Roger Bacon Compend:*  
*studii Theol:*  
part 4.

(g) *Lib: De*  
*Navigiis.*

\* In *Synonym:*  
*Geograph:*

(h) *Plin: Exer-*  
*cit. in Solin: p.*  
770. 836.

1113. & in ad-  
dend. 1339.



nesses in more then one place. And this name *Julius*, which *Cassian* perhaps, and *Malleolus* found before their Books (for they mention not the name of *Æthicus*) as also their finding of the Senates Decree procured by *Julius Caesar* for the surveying of the Roman Empire, in the very Preface of this Work, made them (as it is very likely) inscribe it with the following *Itinerary*, which goes usually under *Antoninus's*, to *Julius Caesar's* name. For that these two peices are joyntly intended by them, appears plainly by the words of one of them before cited : [*Gentes, & civitates singulae in Itinerario*] We referring the word *Gentes* to *Æthicus*, in whom you have *Oceani Orientalis gentes. Oc. Occid. Gentes, &c.* And *Asia situs, cum suis populis, &c.* And the *Civitates cum suis distantis*, to *Antoninus's* *Itinerary*. And indeed (i) *Flodoardus* the Presbyter seems to make both these but one mans work ; For *Æthicus* is quoted by him for two severall Journeys, which are not to be found otherwise then in *Antoninus*. In like manner is *Ethicus* cited by the learned Welchman \**David Powell* (for *Nemo contrarium* saith he) which is in *Antoninus's* second Journey. And again, before that *Itinerary*, in a very ancient Copy, the Preface concerning the Dimension of the Earth, belonging to *Æthicus*, was found prefixt, as \**Simlerus* informs us. And in a word, \**Casspar Barthius*, the flourishing Philologer of this age, tells us plainly, he had observed, that *Æthicus* was the Author of both Peices.

(i) *Flodoard*  
H. R. E. lib.  
1. cap. 1.

\**Powel in Cam-*  
*br. Itin. l. 2.*

\**Præfat. in cap.*  
4. *Antonin.*  
\**In Claudian. ad*  
*Paneg. in 6.*  
*Consul. Honor.*

(k) *Val. Maxim.*  
*lib. 1. cap. 9.*  
(l) *Incertus*  
*auctor quem*  
*Æthicum vo-*  
*cant. Salm. in*  
*Solin. p. 318.*

(m) *Lib. 17. e-*  
*pist. 384. ad Da-*  
*vid. Hoefchel.*

Now from the foregoing Discourse, all that we can conclude, comes to thus much ; That, although the Title of *Æthicus* be exploded and utterly cashired from having any thing to do with these Writings, as *Salmasius* (contrary to what *Barthius* imagines) will have it ; yet for all that we cannot (with *Felix Malleolus*) absolutely say, that *Julius Caesar* was the Author of them, or *Antoninus Pius* of the latter part, as most do ; and that (not to urge other reasons) because the names of many Cities and Places are to be found in both of them, which had not any Being till long after their times. However, we being none of those who dare *Litterarum monumentis consecrata*, as (k) he sayes, *Perinde ac vana refugere*. Though we have the testimony but of an (l) uncertain Author, we are bold from thence to affirm, that some such Description, or *Itinerary* was published by *Caesar's* authority, and in following times by *Antoninus* also, collected and framed ; out of which, after many alterations and additions, and interpolations by the injury of time, and bad hands, we have only continued to us these unperfect, and corrupted Peices, which in some Copies may perchance have retained their names, by whose appointment such Works were first instituted and begun, though now in a manner wholly changed, and different from their first Originalls. So in like manner the most learned (m) *Scaliger* was of opinion, that those



those Chorographicall, or military Tables, as some call them, drawn out meerly for the use of the Roman Armies, in regard of their Marches and Quarters, and \* found out and illustrated with Notes, by the Noble *Mirk Velfer* of *Ausburg*, were nothing else but a Description of Stations and Cities out of *Antoninus*, and *Ptolemies* Geography.

\* In Biblioth:  
Conradi Pentin-  
geriano V. C.

But that we should any farther question *Cæsar's* care and provision in this respect, *Suetonius* will not suffer us; who plainly tells us, (n) That he never led his Army by any dangerous waies, but where he had formerly diligently surveyed and observed the Situation of places. And to confirm it, *Suetonius* here sayes, It is very observable out of his own \* words, that when in his expedition against *Ariavistus* the German, not only his Followers; and Friends, Centurions and Commanders of Horse, but beaten Souldiers would out of Cowardize have abandoned the Service; yet pretending, among other things, *angustias itineris*, the troubles and casualties of the March, he roundly takes them up and answers them, That they dealt faucily to cloak their fears with a false conceit of the difficulty of the waies; that it was his duty to look to that, which they ought by no means to make question of; *Hac sibi curæ esse: de itinere Ipsos brevi tempore judicatu-ros*; They should ere long see that he had well enough provided for that. Which he could not do better, then by fitting and preparing Itinerary Tables and Descriptions to that purpose. This wariness and forecast we see practised by *Augustus Cæsar* his Successor, when he sent his eldest Son *Caius* with an Army into *Armenia* to compose the *Parthian* and *Arabian* affairs, dispatching before him *Dionysius* the Geographer, *ad commentanda omnia*, as (o) *Pliny* tells us, to describe and measure the distances of such Towns and Stations, as he was to march by. This *Dionysius* he calls *Terrarum orbis situs recentissimum autorem*: and yet (p) he mentions besides a Table of the World, which *M. Agrippa* described out of his own Commentaries, and intended to set it forth in a *Porticus* for the publick view; which being begun by his Sister, and left imperfect, was afterwards finished by *Augustus* himself. Under whom when a Description was taken (for it is not well translated *Taxing* in our Bibles, *Luke 2. 2.*) of *Judæa*, (*Quirinius*, *Κυρίνιος*, the holy Text calls him, or *Procurator*) being then President, and indeed of the whole World subject to the Roman power; *Proculdubio*, saith *Simler*, (q) *singula oppida provinciarum omnium diligentissime descripta fuerunt*: For truly the Text saith, they went to be listed, or enrolled, (r) *ἐκάς τε εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν*, Every man unto his own City.

(n) *Suet. in*  
*Cæfare cap: 58.*  
*In obeundis*  
*expeditionibus*  
*exercitum ne-*  
*que per insidi-*  
*osa itinera*  
*duxit umquā,*  
*nisi perspecu-*  
*latus locorum*  
*situs.*

\* *Cæs: de bello*  
*Gal: lib: 1.*

(o) *Plin: lib: 6.*  
*cap: 28.*

(p) *Lib: 3. cap:*  
*2.*

(q) *Simler.*  
*prefat in An-*  
*tonin.*

(r) *Luke 2. 3.*

Such kind of Itineraries, or Journeying Tables, with the removes and distances from place to place, accurately (for the most part) set down, were exceedingly usefull, as I said before,



\* *Refectio vi-  
antium, congrua  
mansionum in-  
tervalla dimen-  
sa sunt.* D. Hi-  
lar. in Psal.  
118.

\* *Itinerum pri-  
mus labor &  
vel maximus  
in re militari.*  
Cicer in Verr:  
Act: 7.

(f) *Veget. de  
Re Milit: lib: 3.  
cap: 6.*

(t) *Quo in ge-  
nere antiquo-  
rum monumen-  
torum extare  
puta nihil pri-  
us, aut secun-  
dum.* Andr.  
Schottus de  
eadem Tabulâ.

(u) *Ambrosi:  
serm: 5. in Psal:  
118. ex D. Hi-  
laris, ut vid.*

fore, and advantageous in severall respects. To let pass the great use that Students, and men of Sedentary lives, made thereof, as often as in the reading of Histories they chanced to meet with forraign Expeditions, long Marches, Battells, Sieges, and Descriptions of Cities, and Countries, and the helps likewise that may be gained from thence, for the illustration and correction of Geographical Writers, such as *Strabo, Mela Pliny, Ptolemie, &c.* The direction and benefit was extraordinary much, which Merchants, Pilgrims, \* and all kind of Wayfaring persons received thereby; But especially they were intended for the use of Generals and Armies; the trouble and danger of marching in strange Countries, being accounted the \* first and greatest care by wise men in *Cicero's* judgment, who was Commander enough to know that, and the neglect thereof gave *Sp. Posthumius* the Consul, with all his Forces, an ignominious overthrow by the *Caudini*, as *Livy* relates. The use & benefit of such Tables, we shall best learn & find in *Fl. Vegetius*, as in its most proper place, he being almost the only ancient Roman Writer that is come to our hands, concerning Military matters.

(f) *Primum*, saith he, *Itineraria omnium Regionum quibus bellum geritur, plenissime debet habere prescripta: ita ut locorum intervalla, non solum passuum numero, sed & viarum qualitate, perdiscat. Per compendia, diverticula, montes, flumina, ad fidem descripta consideret: Usque eò ut solertiores duces Itineraria Provinciarum in quibus necessitas gerebatur, non tantum annotata, sed etiam picta habuisse firmentur, ut non solum consilio mentis, verum etiam aspectu oculorum viam profecturus eligerat.* He tells us that wise and provident Commanders, had not only Itinerary Tables, wherein the distances of places were noted by the number of miles, such as this in our hands, which bears *Antoninus's* name, but exact draughts also, wherein the windings of Wayes, Rivers, and Hills also were lively describ'd & exprest, such as that (t) Table (t) is, whereof we spake even now; which being curiously cut in Brasse, was by the care and directions of *Ortelius* first published at *Antwerp*, and since by *Bertius* joyned to his Edition of *Ptolemie*, the latest and very best.

To this place of *Vegetius*, I will only add another out of *S. Ambrose*, who indeed was some time after him, the one flourishing with the Title and Dignity of a *Comes* at *CP.* under *Valentinian*, to whom he inscribes his Works, the other being Arch-bishop of *Millain* under *Theodosius* the elder; It is a place very pertinent, and will better then any, illustrate our present Discourse, by informing us to what purpose such *Itineraries* were first instituted, and in this regard it will make amends for the length of it; for I cannot forbear but transcribe all of it hither (u) *Miles qui ingreditur iter*, saith that *Nectarian* Doctor; *viandi ordinem non ipse disponit sibi, nec pro suo arbitrio vi-*



am carpit, nec voluntaria captat compendia, ne recedat à signis, sed Itinerarium ab imperatore accipit, & custodit illud: præscripto incedit ordine, cum armis suis ambulat, rectaque via conficit iter, ut inveniat comitatum parata sibi subsidia. Si alio ambulaverit itinere, annonam non accipit, mansionem paratam non invenit, quia imperator iis jubet hæc præparari omnia: qui sequuntur, nec dextrâ nec sinistrâ à præscripto itinere declinant; meritoque non deficit, qui imperatorem suum sequitur. Moderatè enim ambulat, quia imperator non quod sibi utile, sed quod omnibus possibile, considerat: idè & stativa ordinat, triduo ambulat exercitus, quarto requiescit die. Eliguntur civitates in quibus triduum, quatrimum & plures interponantur dies si aquis abundant, commerciis frequentantur; & ita sine labore conficitur iter, donec ad eam urbem perveniatur, quæ quasi regalis eligitur, in qua fessis exercitibus requies ministratur. I will not be farther troublesome by translating; onely instead thereof observe, that *Itineraria* among the ancient Latines, are in Greek Writers called *ἡ σαβυὴ ἀναγεγραμμένη*, i. The *Descriptions*, or *Annotations of Mansions*: particularly in (x) *Strabo* more then in one place. Divers Grecians have set forth Books inscribed simply \* *σαβυὴς*, of the Eastern Countries. As *Amyntas*, mentioned by (y) *Athenæus* and (z) *Ælian*, with others: Their *σαβυὴ* were the Roman *Mansions*, the one borrowing the name from a word that signifies \* *to stand*, the other from a word that signifies *to stay* (a) *manere*, which most anciently signified as much as *Cubare*, to lye, or rest all night. Sometimes in long Journeys, I mean, they reckoned not so much by the number of miles between Mansion and Mansion, as by the number of the Mansions themselves, which we learn by this \* old Inscription.

*Martina chara conjux quæ venit de Gallia per Mansiones L.  
Ut commemoraret memoriam mariti sui:  
Bene quiescas dulcissime mi Marite.*

They called them also *Stationes*. The Grecians *σαβυὴ*, *Eustathius* interprets by *ἀλλογὰι*, by which word the Greek Lawyers, and later Historians do constantly render the Latine *Mansio*, which contained in it usually some three or four *Mutations*, although the \* ancient *Hierosolymitane Itinerary* hath not, most an end, for every *Mansion* above two *Mutationes*, by which word the Writers after *Constantines* age, signified as well (†) the Post-horses themselves, as the set places where they were kept and provided for the use of the Empire. I may add here likewise, that in the same age *Itinerarium* signified the charge given, in token the Army was presently to march; *Itinerarium sonare lituos jubet*, being in *Ammianus* l. 24. just as much as is *ἐποσημαίνειν τὸ εἰς ἐξόδον*, in *Pollux*. But to have spoken so much

E

concerning

(x) *Geograph. lib. 2. & 15.*  
\* *Mansiones.*  
(y) *Dipnosoph. lib. 10. & 12.*  
(z) *Ael. in Hist. Animal. lib. 17. cap. 17.*  
\* *ἵστασθαι.*  
(a) *V. Salmas. ad Aug. Hist. scriptores.*

\* *Apud Hieron. Capugnan. in Addit. ad Fran. Schotti Itiner. Italie lib. 1.*

\* *Ex Biblioth. V.C.P. Pith.*

(†) *Discessit vectus mutatione celeri cursus publici. Ammian. ll. 6.*



concerning *Itineraries* and *Mansions*, by way of Preface to the whole, will be thought sufficient, if not more then enough.

(a) Nat: Hist:  
lib: 4. cap: 16.

(b) Fr: Patric:  
Discus: Peri-  
patetic: Tom: 1.  
lib. 6. Brissoni-  
us, Crakan-  
thorp: Fortun.  
Licetus, &c.

(c) Buchan:  
Rer: Scot: lib:  
1.

\* ἀπὸ τοῦ  
De Auctore e-  
jus post Mure-  
tum, Hensum,  
aliosque, adi-  
omino Cl. V.  
Gabr: Nandeum  
quaest. 5. πύ-  
ραδ & ejus  
sive de Fato.

(d) ἐν τῷ  
πύρα.

(e) In Dionysii  
ἀπὸ τῆς γένε-  
σεως.

(f) Geogr:  
lib: 2.

(g) Almag:  
lib: 2.

\* Little Bri-  
tain.

(h) Joan: No-  
viomagus, Ba-  
roccius, &c.

(†) Lectur: in  
Euclidem.

(i) Propert:  
lib: 2. Eleg: 17.

(k) In Poly-  
hist. ex edit: Sal-  
mas. cap: 2.

(l) Gen: 10. 5.

(m) lib: De fa-  
cie in Orbe  
Lunæ. in quem  
v. Joan: Reple-  
rum.

(n) Catull: E-  
pigr: 26.

**BRITANNIARUM** *Britanniarum* here in the plural Number is not so to be understood, as if thereby were meant all those *British Islands* which by one general name were called *Eritannia*, according to that of (a) *Pliny* [*Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britannia vocarentur omnes.*] But by an *Archivism*, or antick manner of speaking, we must take it for the greatest among them, containing in it at this day *England, Wales, and Scotland*, and named, as he saies, to difference it from the others, *Albion*: & that by (b) *Aristotle*, or (c) *Theophrastus*, or who ever was the Author of that Book \* *Of the World*; *Apulcius* the Translator thereof, (d) *Marcianus Heracleota*, and (e) *Eustathius*, following (f) *Ptolemie* in his *Geography*, for in his *Mathematicall*, or *Great (g) Syntaxis*, which the *Arabians* call the *Almagest*, it is named *Μεγάλη Βρετανία*, *Great Britain*, to distinguish it from *Ireland*, which there also he calls \* *μικρά*, if at least the same *Ptolemie* be Author of both works, which I see (h) some have questioned, but certainly without cause, (†) as *Sir H. Savile* thought.

There are examples enough for this manner of speaking to be found both in later and more ancient Writers, but the names of Provinces were especially so expressed, as well in Prose as Poets: In (i) *Propertius*.

*Dic alias iterum navigat Illyrias.*

Let him once more other *Illyria's* find.

(k) *Solinus* of the best Edition, *Gracias cogitamus*. And the Grecians themselves seem to have used it: to confirme which, as *Homer*

(*Ἡ μὲν κρηίδων γένε' εὐχρηδὺς ὑπερίδων.*)

And this Verse of *Euripides* is urged also.

*Καὶ νηπώτα, καὶ μακρὰς Εὐρωπίας.*

*The Islanders and Europe afar of.*

For certainly he means *Europe*, which not onely in Holy Writ is described by the (l) *Isles of the Gentiles*; but in (m) *Platarch* also the Inhabitants there are called *Insulares*, or *Islanders*: As for *Britain* in particular, these places out of the learned (n) *Catullus* may be sufficient.

*Hunc Gallia timent, timent Britannia.*

Let him the *Gauls* fear, and the *Britains* too.

(o) *Epigr.* 42: And again,

(v) *Mavult quam Syrias, Britanniasque.*

Rather then th' *Syrians* or the *British Stem*.

Neither



Neither may we possibly imagine, that by this Plurall expression any division of *Britain* into smaller Provinces is meant in this place, such as that Quadripartite, in *Sextus*, (p) or rather *Festus Rufus* (*Camden* in naming but three out him was deceived by a false Copy) into *Maxima Cæsariensis*, (q) *Flavia Cæsariensis*, *Britannia prima*; and *Britannia secunda*: of which division they make *Constantine* the Author; Or into five Provinces afterward by *Valentinian* (r) adding *Valentia* in honour of his Brother *Valens*; namely,

(p) In Breviario Ad Valentinian. Imp.  
(q) Amm. MerceLLin. lib. 28.  
(r) Vide Notitiam Occident. Imperii, & illic Geopancivolum.

*Britannia I.*  
*Britannia II.*  
*Maxima Cæsariensis.*  
*Flavia Cæsariensis.*

For both these you see were of later time. Neither may we understand that partition of it, which we find in (s) *Dion Cassius*, into the \* *Higher*, or neerer part of the Province, and † *Lower*, or more remote, and Northern, called *Britannia pars interior*, in (t) *Cæsar's* language; except any one have a mind to read *interior* in that place, which would not indeed so well answer to *maritima*, by which he distinguishes the neerer part, and known to the Romans, but would better agree with *Dion's* expression, according to whose division, we read in (u) *Herodian* also, that *Severus* distributed [his δὲ ἡγεμονίας τὴν τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐξουσίαν] The administration of government in the Nation into two *President-ships*. But least of all may we imagine that division (which the *Britain History* onely is Author of) into *Lhoegria*, *Cambria*, and *Albania*; although *Cambria* seems to \* *Ponticus Vinnius* to be well known to the Romans, as mentioned by *Juvenal* in this Verse of his VII. Satyr.

(s) Dio Hist. lib. 55.  
\* Brit. ἡ ἄνω.  
† ἡ κατω.  
(t) Com. de bel. Gal. lib. 5.

(u) Hist. lib. 3.

*Occidit miseros* \* *Cambre repetita magistrōs*  
*Cambre* did butcher her returned Lords.

\* Forte in Lib: De obscur. Author. locis, & corrupt. nominibus. Neque, n. occurrit in Historia ejus Britannica quam ex Galfrido descripsit. Sed vide Ortelium in Synonymia Geograph.  
\* Al. Crambe. Sed adi Ioan. Scoppam in Collectam.  
\* In Bibliotheca.  
\* Prefat. ad Anton Itiner.

But whether for this conjecture (among others) he may deserve the Title of *eruditissimus* both in *Greek & Latin literature* from the Learned *Gosner's* hand, I leave our Friends of *Wales* to be Judges. And for the division of *Britain* in former time, I shall have occasion elsewhere to discourse more at large.

If in the mean while any one shall be desirous to know more exactly the Chorography thereof about the time that this *Itinerary* was written, if that be true which \* *Jerom Surita*, a learned Spaniard, goes about to perswade us, namely, that it was published by the command of *Antoninus Caracalla*, the Son of *Severus* (making the recension of our *Britain Mansions* therein, sited so far Northerly, and conquered anew by them, as a



(y) Geograph:  
lib: 2.

(z) In Periplo  
lib: 2.

\* A peice of  
Land almost in-  
vironed with  
Sea.

† Breviarium  
Theodosii di-  
citur Andr.  
Alciato Pare r-  
gov. lib: 5.  
cap: 13.

ground of this his assertion:) he cannot do better then to joyn thereunto *Ptolemie's* (y) annumeration of the severall Provinces, or People that then inhabited *Britain*, their more noted Cities, Rivers, Promontories, Havens, Islands, &c. he living not very long before the time that *Caracalla* was Emperour. And somewhat after *Ptolemie's* age, you have the number of them all set down to your hand, I know not how exactly, by (z) *Marcianus Heracleota*, a Greek Writer also. 'Αλβίων, saith he, ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ἑξήνι λγ'. πόλεις ὀπσόμεναι νθ. ποταμούς ὀπσόμεναι μ'. ἀκρωτήρια ὀπσόμενα δ'. χερσὶ νησον ὀπσόμενον ἑνα' κόλπους ὀπσόμεναι ε'. λιμένας ὀπσόμεναι γ'. That is, *Albion* or *Britain* containeth in it, XXXIII. distinct Provinces, noted Cities LIX. famous Rivers XL. IV remarkable Promontories, I \* Peninsula, of more then ordinary note, V notable Bayes, besides III principall Havens. The number of Cities here exactly agrees with that in *Ptolemy*, to whom I conceive he is beholding for the rest also: for that he was after him, evidently appears by his citing him; as he was also junior to the other *Marcianus*, of *Heraclea* also (a Writer of the same subject) whose *ἑξήνι* in Iambick Verse we have published by *Fred. Morellus*.

In our *Antoninus*, the names of the *Mansions* or *Townes*, if you please to call them so, are well neer double that number, there being reckoned no less then CXIV. in this *Itinerary* through the XV. Journeys. We may say then, that *Antoninus* set down all he took in his way; *Ptolemy* onely the more noted. In the *Notitia* of the *Western Empire* † under *Theodosius the younger*, you shall find not above XLVI. Garrisons in the whole Island, whereof IX. were kept on the Sea-coast, to hinder the frequent Attempts and Invasions of the Saxon Pirates, under the Command of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*. XIV others more in-land were commanded by the *Dux Britanniarum* (who had the Title of *Speſtabilis*, as had also the other) whereof *Tork* is the first, under the notion of *Legio VI*. Besides XXIII. more *Per Lineam Valli*, who had most of them their *Stations* very neer the *Wall*, to keep off the continuall Assaults and Irruptions of the *Scots*, and *Picts*, and other barbarous people. But the inland of the Country I believe was stored with many other flourishing Cities, which being named by *Antoninus* and *Ptolemie*, I cannot think were therefore sacked and ruined before this *Notitia*, or *Survey* was taken, because we find them not mentioned there: And this we may the more probably suppose, because that after the *Romans* had abandoned the Island, we find many of them still remaining in good condition, however, in succeeding times, and not long after their departure, we find not but XXVIII. Cities in *Britain*. But certainly they were of principall note, ὀπσόμεναι πόλεις, as *Ptolemie's* expression is; and such indeed are they described to be by *Venerable B. de*, the ancient glory of this Nation. *Erat.* sayes he,



he, (b) [Britannia] viginti & octo civitatibus quondam nobilissimis insignita, præter Castella innumera, quæ & ipsa muris, turribus, portis ac seris erant instructa firmissimis. He had for his Author our Countryman Gildas, who in his Epistle (c) (the ancientest Writing of any Britain that is now extant) tells us, That Britain was adorned, Decorata his denis bisque quaternis civitatibus, That is, with (d) eight and twenty Cities. The Catalogue of whose British names collected by Ninnius the old Historian, being compared with the best Copies that are to be found thereof at this day, is published and illustrated (as well with the Roman names, as such as they are known by at this day) by the Reverend and most Learned (e) Primate of Ireland. Having nothing therefore in my own poor store, to add to so great abilities, and exact diligence, it is high time for us to bethink our selves of our passage from the Coast of France, where the most usuall Port to set sayl for the Island, while the Romans had the Command thereof, was Gessoriacum; whence also our Antoninus begins his Itinerary as followes.

(b) Beda Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(c) De Excidio Britannie.

(d) In quibus vulgares nostri Chronographi Flamines & Archiflamines constituunt: unde & Episcopatum & Archiepiscopatum per Britanniam Notitas petunt: quod Commentum jam satis exploratum.

(e) Iac. Vsser. De Britannia: Ecclesiæ Primord. cap. 5.

A GESSORIIACO DE GALLIIS,

RITUPIS IN PORTU BRITANNIARUM

STADIA NUMERO CCCCL.

**A**GESSORIIACO DE GALLIIS.] From Gessoriacum out of Gaul; for which in the Sea-Itinerary, whereof we spake before, you have A Portu Gessoriacensi, as Simlerus mends it: for in the Venetian Edition of Aldus and others, it is Printed Gessorigiensi, as if the name of the place had been also called Gessorigia; of which more anon: as for the last g. in this word, for c. against the ordinary making, that is to be imputed to the frequent mistake of Transcribers, who most usually confound these two letters, as all know that handle written Books, and we shall see variety of examples for it, before we have done with Antoninus. Among divers others of the Ancients, Pliny also mentions this Port, calling it, Gessoriacum (c) Morinorum littus; which elsewhere he expresses by (d) Portum Morinorum Britannicum: for of this place I understand him there, rather then with (e) Chiffletius that he should mean Portus Iecius; for indeed in his time, and some while before him, Gessoriacum was the onely known accustomed Port, whence they set sayl for Britain, as may appear by a place in Pomponius Mela, who wrote somewhat after the time that Claudius undertook his expedition hither, taking Shipping at this very place.

(c) Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 16.

(d) Ibid. cap. 23.

(e) Iac. Chifflet. in Portu Iecio cap. 6.

(f) Nec Morini, saith he, portu, quæ Gessoriacum vocant, quicquam

(f) De situ Orb. lib. 3. cap. 2.



quicquam habent notius. They have nothing of greater note than their Haven Gessoriacum, which (g) Ptolemy also confirms, in whom you find Γεσσορίαν, Ἰκίον Μορίων. Gessoriacum, The Haven of the Morini; in whom by the Transcribers heedlessness [Ἰκίον] Iccium the Promontory (for he mentions not the Haven) is got into the place that Gessoriacum should be in, as the learned Camden hath observed. And yet we deny not but that Iccius, or Itius, was a Port also of these extremi hominum Morini, as † Virgil calls them. Strabo \* expressly witnesseth it; *μωερίων Ἰκίον*. Although Ortelius (h) make it belong to the Caletes, a People neighbouring upon them, vouching for it the very same Strabo's authority. Besides Florus (i) tells us, That Caesar set sail à Portu Morino, which himself in his Commentaries (k) calls Iccius, ex quo commodissimum in Britanniam transiectum esse cognoverat: Whence he had observed the most convenient passage was over into Britain. However, because in after-times, Gessoriacum was thought to be so too; (Iccius perhaps being stopt up and become less frequented) we may not therefore with Ciuverius (l) (having no more ground for it then his bare word) conclude that they were the same, which, he indeed, doth very resolvedly, without once question made thereof: Portus Gessoriacus, saith he, Qui antea itius, & postmodum Bononia, nunc Boulogne; for this assertion hath as little proof for it, as Dempesters \* wilde conceit, that the Inhabitants of Gessoriacum were the most valiant people of Gallia, because he deduces the name from Gesum, a Weapon, by old Authors of both Languages peculiarly appropriated to the Gauls.

After Julius Caesar's expedition hither, Strabo under Augustus and Tiberius sets down four severall places, from which they then used to put forth to Sea for this our Island from the Continent (m) [*τὴν ἀπὸ δ' ἑὴ διαφύκτου, οἱς ἔσονται συνήδους ἐπὶ τῷ νῆσον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.*] From the severall mouthes of the Rhene, the Seyne, the Loir, and the Garonne, where also he tells us, that they that took Shipping from any place neer upon or about the Rhene, sail'd not directly out by the mouth of the River, but from the Morini. *παρ' οἷς*, sayes he, *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰκίον*, among whom also is Itium; naming it here onely occasionally out of Caesar's own description of his passage (for he principally cites Caesar's self about his own affaires, and the condition of things at that time in Gaul) but by the context of his words, he may seem to intimate also some other Haven upon their Coast, which sure enough was Gessoriacum, though not yet used in his time: for from thence within a very little while after Claudius took his Voyage into Britain, as Suetonius relates: (n) *A Missiâ Gessoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmissi*: After a land march from Atarselles, he passed over his Army from hence; and not he himself onely, but such also as at any time he employed hither with

(g) Geogr. lib.

2.

\* Virgil. Aen. lib. 8.

\* Lib. 4. in descript. Britanniae.

(h) Iccius Portus, Caletum pop. in Gallia Belgica navales ut Strabo scribit. Ortel. in Synon.

(i) L. Flor. lib. 3. cap. 10.

(k) De bel. Gal. Comm. 5.

(l) Phil. Cluv. Introd. Geogr. l. 2. c. 12.

\* Tho: Dempster: Paralip: ad c. 10. lib: 10. Rom: Antiq: 10: Rosini.

(m) Strabo Geogr. l. 4.

(n) Sueton: in Claudio cap: 17.



with Command, *Aul. Plantius*, *P. Ostorius*, *Fl. Vespasianus*, and others made use, it is most likely, of this very same Haven.

Neither doth that conjecture want great shew of probability, that immediatly before him the stupid *Caligula* put his mighty Army in *Battalia* upon this very \* *littus Gessoriacum*, as *Pliny* calls it: For in a *Bravado* and meér flourish of a seeming attempt against (o) *Britain*, at an ebbing Sea he commanded the Souldiers upon the sounding of a charge to fill their Bosoms and Helmets with Shells, as spoiles of the Ocean, whilst himself, and some selected Friends launched out in their Gallies. To perpetuate the memory of which so vainglorious (or rather ridiculous) an action, he built upon the place (o) *altissimam turrem*, an exceeding high Tower, appointing it also for a Sea-mark, with fire on the top by night, in imitation, no doubt, of that *Pharus* at the Port of *Alexandria*. Out of this Tower, if not the very same, there are learned men, who suspect that that was raised, which the Dutch and we call *The old man of Bullen*, but the French name it *Tour d'ordre*, at this day, standing very high upon the Port of *Bologne*, or *Bononia*, which they will have to be a later name of *Gessoriacum*, as we shall see in what followes. Neither doth it any whit hinder that the Inhabitants entitle *Julius Caesar* to be the Author thereof, for besides that in the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Caligula* is expressly entred *Caius Julius Caesar Augustus*, &c. We know full well from instances to be made at home, \* how uncertain and groundless the reports are, which are given out upon tradition, concerning *Cæsars* structures. Moreover, the words of *Dio*, and *Xiphilint* out of him, concerning this mock-show [*Caligula* (†) *came to the Ocean as to war in Britain*] compared with his intention, do, in the judgment of a most (p) learned man, seem to carry his encampment and towring structure, far enough off from *Holland*, where notwithstanding \* the most do place it; And he himself, as mad as he was, could not but know by *Julius Caesar's* example, there were neerer cuts over hither then so. However it is very remarkable, that the Seat of so notorious a peice of Masonry should become questionable to Posterity: the works of foolish Princes, as well as their Councils, most commonly comming to nothing.

In succeeding times likewise, when *Britain* was now become a Province of the Romans, this was the onely frequented place for taking Sea thither. To say nothing of *Nero's* Generalls: For *Julius Agricola's* passage over under *Vespasian*, (whose *Pro-prator*, or President he was in the Island) me-thinks I could out of (q) *Tacitus* corrected, prove it was from hence; of which more, when I shall speak of *Rutupia*. And for *Hadrian's* Voyage hither, we do not once imagine that it was begun from any other place; especially *Gessoriacum* being mentioned

by

\* Quod idem littus Bononiæ  
Ammian. dicitur lib: 27.  
(o) Sueton in Caligula cap: 46.

\* The Tower of London. The Bathe. Chester Arthurs Oven, in Scotland, &c.

(†) ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βριταννίᾳ πατεῖσθαι. Dio lib. 54. specie in Britanniam transfrediendi. Aurel. Victor, ut Schol: emend. observ. ib: 3. c. 21. (p) E. B. in Nerone Cæs: cap. 24. Sect: 8.

\* Making it to be Bzittenhuis. i. Domus Britannica.

(q) In vita ejus legendo cum B. Rhenano Rutupensis, pro Trutulensis.



\* *Apud Spar-  
tian.in Hadria-  
no.*

(r) *De gest.  
Rom:lib.I.cap.  
II.*

(s) *Nat. hist.  
lib.4.cap.23.*

(t) *Herodian.  
lib.3.*

(u) *Anonym.  
editus ab Henr.  
Valesio, cum  
Amm Marcel-  
lino.Eundem  
scriptorem MS.  
laudat.Pecav.  
de Doctr.Temp.  
ex Biblioth.  
Sirmondi.*

by an Author of that time, who made himself pastime \* in Verse with his expedition hither, for which he was then thought worthy of no other payment, then in the same coyne from the Emperours own hands. It is *L. Florus* (whose elegant *Breviary* we have of the Roman History) where he takes a view of the military actions of the Common-wealth in its Infancy, compared with its well-grown habit and constitution in his time, and somewhat before. (r) *Idem hunc Fregellæ*, sayes he, *quod Gessoriacum*: By which he means that in elder time to have attempted by Armes *Fregellæ*, a small Town of the Latines, was accounted of equall hazard to the conveying over an Army from *Gessoriacum* in his daies, for the settling of the Affaires of *Britain*; which it is well known *Hadrian* did do. And upon the mentioning this passage, I list not now to make stay to enquire what occasioned that foul mistake in learned *Hadrian Junius* his additions to his *Nomenclator*, out of *Ortelius's Theatrum*, whereby *Iccius Portus* is here said to be called *Fregellæ*, by *Florus*: and instead thereof we shall add in this place, that *Albinus Cæsar* also did here land his British Forces against *Severus*; which I conclude from his marching directly to *Lugdunum*, or *Lions*: For seeing we are told by (s) *Pliny* that *Polybius* (I know not whom he should mean, except the Historian) took the measure of distance from the *Alps* to the *Portus Morinorum Britannicus* (which I think we have proved to be this *Gessoriacum*; and *Camden*, I am sure, thought so) by the way of *Lions*, where else should he, that was to give Battell at *Lions* to *Severus*, land out of *Britain*, but at *Gessoriacum*? And *Herodian* means no other then this very Port, by his (t) [*ἐντικειμένῳ τῇ Γαλλίᾳ*] *Gaul* just over against; which expreffion [*ἐν πλάτῃ*] at large, as they say, he uses; not onely for the arrivall of *Albinus* at this place, but of *Severus's* Sons also with their Fathers ashes, which they landed here to be conveyed to *Rome*; where after the solemne Obsequies performed, they made him a God, whose Body the Britains a little before had seen consum'd in flames. As for any other place to arrive at besides, the memories of this age, and of the former are utterly silent.

And in following ages also the same Haven was continued during the time the Romans had command of *Britain*, as a Province; however, they say the name was changed, and that, it seems, somewhat before *Constantinus Chlorus* had the Government here assigned to him. We learn this by a (u) Writer of those times, whose name is lost, though not his History, wherein he relates, that *Constantine* his Son making his way with all speed through *Italy*, to escape *Severus*, created *Cæsar* by *Maximianus*, who pursued him, hockt all the Post-horses he left behind him in the publick Mutations, or Innes, and so came safe to his Father [*Apud Bononiam, quam Galli prius Gessoriacum*]



soriacum vocabant] to Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. Zozimus also (u) remembers the fact in his new History, as also Aurel. Victor: and though they add nothing about the names of the place, yet others observe the very same concerning the change of them. The Author of this Military Itinerary Table found in Pentinger's Study, formerly mentioned: *Gessoriacum, quod nunc Bononia*. But we need not seek for more Authorities of this kind, nor yet too exactly urge the distance of miles between the old *Ambiani*, and *Gessoriacum*, in our (x) *Antonine*, which is the very same, as it is said, at this day between *Amiens* and *Bullen*; most certainly the same with *Bononia* in ancient times; for [*Quod instar omnium est*] saith (y) *Camden*, that which out-weighs all arguments, to prove that *Bononia* and *Gessoriacum* were [*necessario unum idemque opidum*] the very same Town, is this. That the piraticall faction of *Caranſus* his raising, which is said, in one (z) *Panegyrick*, spoken to *Constantius*, to be shut up and defeated by him, *Gessoriacensibus muris* (the last Edition which I now use, for want of a better, hath *Gessorigiam, censibus, muris*, very corruptly, as indeed the whole *Pericope*;) is by (a) another to his Son *Constantine* said, *Bononiensis oppidi littus insedere*. And it is not to be thought, as he adds, that men of that quality, speaking to so great Princes, should either of them be mistaken in the place, or its name, the memory of the Victory being as yet fresh. Therefore to him the name seems changed in *Constantine's* daies.

Yet as resolved as he concludes the business (b) *Scaliger* will by no means have it believed. *Ne credas unquam Bononiam Gessoriacum dictam, semper enim eam appellationem habuit*. Thinks not, sayes he, that ever *Bononia* was called *Gessoriacum*; for it never had any other name. *Bononia* indeed, he tells us, was anciently (c) *Pagi Gessoriaci* (as *Pliny* calls it) by which he understands that whole Tract, *Qui pertinet à Normannis Belgis ad Bononiam*; and in which even at this day, a Town remains, yet called *Giffore* from thence, the word *Pagus*, being not oftener taken for a Village, or Town, then for a great Lordship, or Territory. Neither doth he see any reason, as he sayes, why we should give it any other name besides *Bononia*, seeing it is so ancient, as appears by *Amm. Marcellinus* (whose authority however is some deal lower, which we may observe by the way, then that before out of the *Panegyrick*) in his XX. Book: *Notarius Bononiam mittitur observaturus sollicitè, ne quisquam fretum Oceani transire permetteretur*; that is, into *Britain*: and there he tells us also, that *Lupicinus* dispatched by *Julian*, to compose the British affairs took shipping at the same place, & elsewhere; that (d) *Theodos.* did so likewise, being sent by *Valentinian*. They likewise which returned hence back again to the Continent, made this their constant landing-place. Of *Constantine* the III, com-

F

monly

(u) Hist: v. lib: 2.

(x) Itin: Gal: Belg: M. P. LXXIV. sive Leug. L. quæ mensura potissimum usi sunt olim in Gallia. v. infra.

(y) In Cantio. (z) Cujus Pr: Simihi Cæsar: Maximiano dictus, perperam habetur in codâ: vulgaris.

(a) Cujus Pr: Facerem.

(b) Ios: Scal: Aufon: Lect: lib: 1. cap: 23.

(c) Nat: hist: lib: 4. cap: 17.

(d) Ammian: hist: lib: 27.



(e) *Zosim. Hist.*  
*lib. 6.*

(f) *Sozomen.*  
*lib. 9.*

(g) *Castigat.*  
*Plin. lib. 4. cap.*  
*16.*

(h) *Hist. Scot.*  
*lib. 1.*

(i) *Annotat.*  
*MS. in Anto-*  
*ninum.*

(k) *Hist.*  
*Gallicæ lib. 2.*

(l) *In epist. de*  
*Caletis expug-*  
*nata.*

(m) *Adver-*  
*sar. lib. 8. cap.*  
*21.*

(o) *Iustin. hist.*  
*lib. 4. de Sicilia.*

(n) *Medium;*  
*spatium, aut*  
*per humilita-*  
*tem obrutum*  
*e aquis, aut*  
*propter an-*  
*gustiam scis-*  
*sum. Salust. a-*  
*pud Isidorum.*  
(p) *Aeneid.*  
*III.*

(q) *Nat. Hist.*  
*L. 2. cap. 88.*  
*Quas terras*  
*interruperint*  
*maria quem,*  
*si quid libet, a-*  
*di.*

(r) *Thucy. hist.*  
*lib. 6.*

(s) *Ulp. Tit. de*  
*verb. signif.*  
*L. XCIX.*

(t) *Meteor. li. 2.*

monly called the Tyrant (e) *Zosimus*, beares witness; as also *Olympiodorus Thebanus*, who wrote the History of *Honorius* the elder, *Theodosius*, and *Honorius* the younger; out of one of whom, or both, (f) *Sozomen* the Ecclesiasticall Historian relates the same thing, saving that his Text is corrupt; for you have there *Βουβονία*, which the dexterity of the Editioner, or Interpreter hath turned into *Βορβονία*, whence is the Latine *Burbonia*, which is just nothing in that place.

But by this time we have almost lost *Gessoriacum*, indeed about the ancient Site whereof, there hath not been a little more ado among learned men, so far are they from agreement where it might have been. (g) *Hermolaus Barbarus* thought it to have been *Brugge*, a famous Mart-town of *Flanders*: likewise (h) *Henric Boethius* places it in *Flanders*; but at *Shus*, both, truly, with no little mistake, not observing the distance between *Gessoriacum* and *Britain*, set down by *Pliny*, and here also; of which anon. Our Countryman (i) *Talbot*, and (k) *Robert Cornalis* the Frenchman, assign *Caletum*, or *Callis* for it: but the Noble and Learned (l) *Michael Hospitalius* sufficiently disproves them, shewing that it was not anciently, but a poor little Village, till such time as within a few Ages, *Philip* one of the Earls of *Bologne* enlarged it, and strengthened it with a Wall. (m) *Adrian Turnebus* (that the consent may be as little as may be) makes it to have been at *St. Omars*, in *vico Soaci dicto*; But besides that it is a new Town, as *Ortelius* tells us; he sayes, That *Gessoriacum* by the ancients being described a Haven Town, he dare not seek for it in any inland place, though there be some allusion to the same: Our famous Antiquary *John Leland* most judiciously places it at *Bologne*, or *Bononia*, which the Dutch call *Bennen*; And him doth *Camden* follow.

Hence then in good time let us set sayl for *Britain*; for we cannot stay here to dispute the question, Whether *BRITAIN* were not from antiquity, as remote as the Flood rent from the main land of *Gaul*, *Velut à corpore, majore impetu superioris maris, quod toto undarum onere illuc invehitur*, (n) as he speaks of the Island *Sicily*; for which that it was so torn from *Italy* (o) *Salust*, *Trogus Pompeius*, (p) *Virgus*, (q) *Pliny*, and others do seem to have credited. Albeit (r) *Thucydides* refers you only to the Poets for it, as if himself believed it not. And (s) *Ulpian* the Lawyer tells us, That *Siciliam magis inter Continentes accipere nos oportet, que modico freto Italia dividitur*. For *Aristotle* himself tells us, (t) that Islands neer to the Continent, are parcell of the Continent. But as for *BRITAIN*, that it was at any time so separated from the Continent, the first that ever

asserted it, that I can tell of (since *Servius* upon *Virgil's*

*Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos,*

And *Eritanny* divided from the World.

J. O.  
Whom



Whom he mistakes, as learned \* Mr. Selden thinks; as that also of Claudian.

\* De Anno Ind. cap: 18. Ad eandem ad Cant: 18. Pol. sublimis poetæ.

—Et nostro diducta Britannia mundo,  
And our Britannie parted from the World.

Is mis-understood) was \* Dominicus Marius Niger, the Venetian Geographer, whom Antonius Volsus, an Italian likewise, with Bodine, hath followed. Mr. Speed, besides these, brings one Vinianus for this opinion. Upon search who he should be, I found since it is Vivianus the Lawyer, for whose testimony he is beholding to Richard White \* of Basingstoke, as he is for all the rest of his authorities almost to the learned Camden. He, discoursing concerning the Presidentships of severall Provinces, hath these words by way of instance: (a) *Anglia & Gallia fuit divisa in duas Provincias, & ambæ postea fuerunt sub duobus Præsidibus constitutæ. Nam Anglia & Gallia fuit una terra ab initio.* Interpreting which, *unam terram appellat Vivianus Continentem*, saith White. And from his division from the Continent, he conceives BRITAIN, had its name corrupted from the Hebrew פֶּרַד קַיִן Perad-cain; learning it, (b) as himself tells us, from his Colleague at Doway, Joannes Pallas a German, and Regius Professor there of that Language. But since our own Countrymen at home took the question in hand, it hath found many to hold the Affirmative; among whom, the most confident for the maintaing of it, is (c) John Twyne, deriving the name of the Island after the same signification from Brich, which, as he sayes, is as much as Guith, i. A separation in Welsh, whence the Isle of Wight was so called: Guith, and Wight, being soon made of each other. And next to him is Richard Verstegan in his Restitution of decayed intelligence in Antiquities. As for our other Antiquaries, they are such, who following the opinion the one of the other, as the same Verstegan well observes, are rather content to think it sometime to have been, then to labour to find out by sundry pregnant reasons, that so it was indeed. I alwaies except the learned Camden, whose resolution herein is very grave and discreet, making it a high matter of Religion, *De divinis operibus Supinè sententiam ferre*: adding moreover, that lands scattered in the middle of the Ocean (the Divine Providence seeing it good it should be so) do confer no less to the ornament of the Universe, then great Lakes and Meers disperst up and down in the firm Land do, as huge Mountains neer unto vast Plains. But Antonine calls us aboard: and as I said before we cannot stay.

\* Comment. de Britan. cap: 2:

\* Hist. Britan. lib. I. Not. 11.

(a) F: ad Marcum in l. 3. de Offic. Adseffor.

(b) Vetus Hist. Britan. lib. I. Not. 25. & Præf: ad l. 9. ad Episc: Atrebatens.

(c) De Reb. Albion: & Britan.

*Dii nobis facilemque viam, ventosque ferentes.*

Grant us, yee Gods, faire way, and prosperous Winds.



RITUPIS, or *Ritupis*, IN PORTU BRITANNIARUM.]

(a) *P. A. M. A.*  
*Ptol: Geo-*  
*graph: lib. 2.*

And now are we, in good time, arrived in BRITAIN, at *Ritupia*, or *Rutupia*, (a) as *Ptolemie* calls it, making it one of the two (for *London* is misplaced there for a third) principall Cities of the CANTII, or *Kent*, not of the *Atrebatii*, as *Surita*, by a foule over-sight, tells us, they being far more inland. In our Voyage from *Gaul*, we have passed over a boysterous and surging Sea, *Attolli horrendis aestibus adsuetum*, (b) saith *Ammianus* of it, and therefore not without cause described such by *Lucan* in these brave Verses.

(b) *Am. Mar-*  
*cell. lib: 27.*

(c) *Lucan: lib.*  
*6.*

—(c) *Veluti mediis qui intus in arvis*  
*Sicania, rapidum nescit latrare Pelorum:*  
*Aut vaga, cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,*  
*Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

As who in midst of *Sicily* safe dwell,  
When rough *Pelorus* barks can never tell:  
As Northern Britains cannot hear the roare  
Of flowing Seas against the Kentish shore. T.M.

(d) *Juvenal.*  
*Sat: 4.*

(d) *Juvenal* expresses it by *Rutupinus fundus*, calling it so from this famous Haven-town standing upon the shore, where he celebrates the Oysters taken there, and conveyed thence to *Rome*, among other farfetched Dainties, and commends *Montanus* the Roman Senators judicious palate in the tasting of them.

—*Nulli major fuit usus edendi*  
*Tempestate mea; Circeis nata forent, an*  
*Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinone edita fundo*  
*Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu:*  
*Et semel aspecti littus dicebat Echini.*

—in all

My time, his tast was most authenticall.  
If *Lucrin* Rocks or *Circe's* th' Oysters bred  
Or were they with \* *Richborough* water fed  
He found at the first tast, and by the look  
Of Crabfish told upon what Coast 'twas took.

\* *Kent:*

Sir R. Stapylton.

(e) *Val: Maxim.*  
*lib: 9. cap: 1.*  
(f) *Consol: ad*  
*Helv: cap: 9.*  
(g) *Nat. Hist.*  
*lib:*

And truly we are not to understand *Val. Maximus*, where he speaks of Fishes (e) *Ab Oceani littoribus, & infuse culinis Ostreae*: or *Senica's* (f) *Conchyliis ultimi maris ex ignoto littore*, of any other then Oysters taken upon these shoars. For (g) *Pliny* expressly mentions *Ostrea Britannica* out of *Mucianus*, making them indeed somewhat less luscious then those of the *Lucrine* Lake,



Lake, as likewise they were not so large as those of *Cyzicum*: his words are, *Cyzicena majora Lucrinis, suaviora Britannicis*. But in after ages *Ausonius* the Poet seems to have admired them above others in these words.

*Sunt & Aremorici qui laudent ostrea ponti,  
Et quæ Pictonici legit accola littoris: & quæ  
Mira \* Caledonius nonnunquam detegit æstus.*

\* *Britannicus.*

Some do the *Guien* Oysters highly fame;  
Some those are gather'd by a Scottish Dame:  
Some those the Flood leaves on the British shore.

They are in his IX. Epistle to *Axiu Pontius* the Rhetorician; in which you have variety of good Oysters: thither therefore I send you for better satisfaction, or else to *Apicius*, and the Doctors of his School, the *Gula procures*; for we must return to *Rutupia*.

To pass by therefore the Interpreter, as it is pretended, of the *British History*, who tells us, that not onely \**Julius Caesar* landed here [*in Rutupinum portum*] at his third entrance (of which yet himself \* makes no mention) but also that *Vespasian*, being sent hither by *Claudius* to make all quiet, *Cum ad Rutupi portum applicare incipisset*, was hindred from landing here, and so forced to wheel about as far as *Totnes* in *Cornwall*: In an unquestionable Writer, *Cornelius Tacitus*, we find this place called *Portus Rutupensis*: for not onely all learned men in generall beyond the Seas approve this correction of that place by *B. Rhenanus*; but Sir *Henry Savile* also his most accurate Interpreter; whereas indeed before it was read (b) *Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britannia tecto \* redierat. i.* "And withall, the Navy with "prosperous wind and success arrived at the *Port Trutulensis*, "from whence it had departed, coasting along the neereft side "of *Britanny*, and so returned thither again. By which it is plain, that here was the usuall Harbour where the *Romans Navy* rode at Anchor, and consequently that this was the ordinary landing-place from *Gessoriacum*, or *Bononia*, in those times, as it was in after ages also, which we shall shew. As for this place of *Tacitus*, if it be not so to be mended, *Trutulensis* will found nothing, and be no where to be found.

\* *Gelfrid: Monum: Hist: Brit: lib: I. cap: 22.*  
\* *Ibid: cap: 26.*

(h) *In vita Agricole.*

\* *F. exierat.*

But *Ammianus* will make it good; A Writer who began his History of the *Roman Emperours*, just where *Tacitus* left off; and indeed he is the first after him (except *Juvenall*) who mentions *Rutupia*; the name of it being lost for so long together, with the former part of his History, even to the times of *Constantius* and *Julian*) under whom *Lupicinus*, being dis-

patch't



patch't into Britain to repulse the inrodes of the Scots, and  
 (i) *Ammian: lib. 20.* *Pictis, (i) Bononiam venit, & observato statu secundo, ventorum,*  
*ad Rutupias, sitas ex adverso desertur, petitque Lundinium.* And  
 elsewhere he tells us, That *Theodotius* appointed also hither  
 by *Valentinian*, (k) *cum venisset, ad Bononia littus, transmeato*  
 (k) *Idem lib: 27.* *lentiùs freto desertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam:*  
*Was carried to Rutupia, a calm Harbour over against; and there-*  
*fore fittest for the Roman Fleet constantly to lye there,*

(l) *Epiced. in Patrem. & in Mos.* *Decius Ausonius* the Poet, who under *Valentinian* (l) as him-  
 self tells us, had the *Præfectura* of Gaul and *Britanny*, hath also  
 preserved the memory of this famous Station in his *Parentalia*,  
 where he celebrates the Funerall of his Fathers Brother *Claudi-*  
*us Contentus*, who having put out to use, and improved a Mass  
 of money in strangers hands in *Britain*, lost it all by his sudden  
 death in this very place; if *Ausonius* do not rather by *tellus*  
*Rutupina*, mean *Britain* in generall, which some have thought.

*Et patruos Elegia meos reminiscere cantu;  
 Contentum; tellus quem Rutupina tegit.  
 Magna cui, & variae quaesita pecunia sortis,  
 Hæredis nullo nomine tuta, perit.  
 Raptus enim lætis, & adhuc florentibus annis  
 Trans mare, & ignaris fratribus oppetiit.*

Also my Uncles memory recount  
 In Elegiack strains; *Contentus*; he  
 Lies under Kentish soyl, great sums did mount  
 His Cash; which he did never settled see  
 On's Heirs: for he was posted o're the Main,  
 In's prime, and dy'd before he came again.

(m) *Ecclesiast: hist: lib: 5. cap: 11.* For *Clemens Maximus* the Tyrant (who vanquished two Empe-  
 rours) slaying *Gratian*, and making *Valentinian* abandon *Italy*,  
 being called *Rutupinus latro* by the same *Ausonius*; many have  
 from thence, as also from a place of (m) *Socrates* misunder-  
 stood in his Translation (to speak nothing of our own Coun-  
 try (n) Writers in old time, and what they thought of him)  
 concluded him a Britain, although in very truth he were of  
 Spanish birth and extraction, as both (o) *Zosimus* witnesseth,  
 and may most evidently be collected out of *Latinus Pacatus*  
 his Panegyric to *Theodosius*. All indeed that can be concluded  
 from this Epithet, given him by *Ausonius*, is onely this, That in  
 Britain he first put on the Imperiall Purple, and so passed into  
 Gaul, as *Socrates* is to be understood, and (p) *Aurel. Victor*  
 plainly writeth. Neither doth that want some good shew of  
 probability, which Mr. *Comden* hath, that *Maximus* perhaps  
 had the Government of this Station, and of what forces else  
 lay

(n) *Qui pleriq;  
 omnes Maxi-  
 mum fuisse for-  
 sitan volunt.*  
 (o) *Zosin: hist: lib.*

(p) *In Epi-  
 tome de Imp.*



lay neer upon this place; and therefore was so called by him in this Verse;

*Turisti Ansonio (q) Rutupinum Marte latronem.*  
By thee the Kentish Rebel was subdu'd.

(q) *Anson. in  
urbibus in A-  
quileia.*

For besides that, *Ansonius* himself in his forenamed *Parentalia* mentions such a Presidentship there sometime sustained by *Fl. Sanctus* his own Wifes Sister's Husband (whom there he hath asserted from oblivion, in this Epitaph; so that we may see they do not wholly dye, who have a Poet to friend.

*Tranquillos Manes, supremaque mitia Sancti,  
Ore pio, & verbis advenere bonis:  
Militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit:  
Præside lætatus quo Rutupinus æger.  
Octoginta annos cujus tranquilla senectus  
Nullo mutavit deteriore die.*

With pious Lips, and holy Prayers thou must  
Adore blest *Sanctus* Soul, and quiet dust,  
Who made War easie, and whilst he did Reign  
Gave peace and plenty to th' *Rutupian* Plain.  
Full eighty years he liv'd with happy fate,  
Then humane life chang'd for a better state.

The *Notitia* also, or Survey of the Western Empire, thought to be taken not long after this time, lets us know, that the *Præpositus* of the II. Legion, called *Victrix Augusta*, resided [*Rutupis*] at *Rutupia*, sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Comitæ Littoris Saxonici per *Britanniarum*, to hinder the Piracies and inrodes of the Saxons, (r) *Guid. Paucirohus* in his old Book found *Præfectus* for *Præpositus*, which is the better, being the usuall word. As for the Legion it self, we shall have fitter occasion to speak of it elsewhere in this very work.

(r) *Comment. in  
Notit. Oxid. cap.  
72.*

(s) *Paulus Aurostus*, the Spanish Priest, calls it a *Pity*, as well as a *Haven*: *Britain*, saith he, hath *Gaul* on the South, *Cujus proximum littus transmeantibus civitas aperit quæ dicitur Ruthubi portus*. Out of whom *Beda* adding moreover the site thereof, and name also in his daies: (t) *Britannia habet à meridie Galliam Belgicam, cujus proximum littus transmeantibus aperit civitas, quæ dicitur Ruthubi portus, qui portus à gente Anglorum nunc corruptè Reptacæstir vocata, interposito mari à Gessoriaci Morinorum gentis, littore proximo trajectu miliarum quinquaginta, sive, ut quidam scripsere stadiorum quadringentorum quinquaginta*. He sayes, That the Saxons in his time corruptly called it *Beptacæster*, which afterwards was altered into *Ruptimuth*, and *Richbery*

(s) *Oros. hist.  
lib. I. cap. 2.*

(t) *Eccles. hist.  
lib. I. cap. I.*



bery, and of late ages into *Richborow*, all, no doubt, from the old *Rutupia*. which also before *Bede* in the *Military Tables* was corrupted into *Ravipis* and *Ratupis*. As for the deduction of the name, *Camden* I see is not (as usually his manner is) so confident in deriving it from the ancient *Britain* Language: *I would*, sayes he, (t) *if I durst*, bring it from *Rhyd Iusith*, which is as much as *A Ford stopt with sand*. The denomination indeed is at this day very suitable to the place, considering not onely the obstruction of the old Haven, but of that too which belongs to the new Town, risen of late ages out of the ruins of *Rutupia*, and called indeed *Sandwich*, from the store of *Sand* forceably by the Sea cast up from the *Godwin* upon this shore. But that anciently it should be from thence so called, when it was an Harbour for the Roman Navies, I would faine have some body to satisfie me therein, how it might be, except they then had some foresight of what in after ages would come to pass. Besides, if this be the *Etymon*, I would be told also, by them that can, whence (u) *Portus Rutubis*. a Haven on the Coast of *Barbary*, mentioned by *Pliny*, was so called; for to allude to the same *Pliny's* words in another place, (x) *Pudet à Britannis Africæ rationem mutuari*: We may by no means out of our old British Tongue seek the Originations also of Townes names in *Africk*: (y) *Will. Lambard* had rather derive it from the British word, which signifieth a *Net*, in token that it stood by *Fishing*; or of *Rwyd*, which signifieth *Speed*: because from thence, as some thought, was the most short and speedy course over the Seas.

The Island indeed which stands situate over against *Rutupia*, retains yet some parcel of the old name thereof in our British, being called (z) *Tnys Rhuochim*, that is, the *Rutupian Island*, as *Humphr. Lhoyd* interprets it; But whether *Rhuochim* were the British name for this *Rutupia*, in that famous History, the Translator of which *Geffrey of Monmouth* (B. afterwards of S. *Asaph*, and Cardinall (a) as some say) makes himself; to be where it is related, That King *Arthur*, returning from his expedition against I know not what Emperour of *Rome*, with an Army of CC. and LXX. M. men, arrived in (b) *Rutupum portum*; as also in those places before mentioned: they onely can tell us, who have lookt into a British Copy thereof; one of which (c) Mr. *Lambard* sayes he had in his possession. We call it *Thanst*, of which *Jul. Solinus* in his *Polyhistor* thus, being the first of the Ancients that mentions it: (d) *Thanatos insula alluitur freto Gallico, à Britannia continenti æstuario tenui separata, felix frumentariis campis, & gleba uberi. Nec tantum sibi soli, verum, & aliis salubris locis. Nam cum ipsa nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra, quoquò gentium invicta sit, angues necat.* All which is very true, saving his last observation, That *not so much as a Snake creeps in this Isle*; and that the Earth of it conveyed from hence

(t) Si auderem.

(u) Plin: Nat: hist: lib: 5. cap: 1.

(x) Ibid: l: 3. cap: 16.

(y) Xenagog: Cantii p: 90.

(z) Ynis Ruhn: Aßer: Me: nevens:

(a) Alph: Gac: eo: de gest: Pontif: &c.

(b) Hist: Brit: lib: 7. cap: 7.

(c) Xenagog: Canæ pag: 75.

(d) Solin: cap: 35. sive 22. ut Salmas.



hence, killeth them wheresoever they are found elsewhere, which proving nothing so, *Isidore* doth trifle, who sayes, It was so called (b) from the death of Serpents brought thither. *Aldus* Printed it *Alhanatis*. But *Salmasius* finding *Adtanatis* in a very ancient book, mended it, *At Tanatis*, assuring us that is the true name of the Isle; about which (c) *Camers* and *Delrio* so much trouble themselves, and of whom the former surmises it might be (d) *Etta* corrupted in *Antonine*; or else (but in that he is the whole Seas wide) to be *Ptolemies Agatha*, which he places in the Mediterranean Sea, over against *Languedoc*, and Province: whereas the site of *Tanet* is well known out of *Solinus*, distant enough from thence. With far more probability doth our *Camden* conjecture it to have been *Ptolemies Toliapis*, especially finding it written *Toliatis* in some old Copies. *Beda* calls it *Tanatos*, and exactly describes it, as it was an Island in his daies; whose words I will here set for better satisfaction of them that seldome handle him: (e) *Est ad Orientalem Cantii plagam Tanatos insula non modica, id est, magnitudinis juxta consuetudinem estimationis Anglorum familiarum DC.* (It is falsely Printed *miliarium* in all Editions I have seen) *quam à continenti terra secernit Wantsum, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum, & duobus tantum in locis est transmissibilis. Utrumque enim caput protendit in mare.* That is, "On the East of Kent" is *Thanet*, no small Isle, able to maintain six hundred Families, "which the River *Wantsum* divides from the main Land, above a quarter of a mile over, and fordable onely in two places, being brancht two severall waies, it runs into the Sea, making it an Island. But at this day it is but a *Peninsula*, or By-land, one of the streams being dryed up (f) some hundred years ago, or somewhat more, which parted it from the Continent of *Britain*.

Now whereas *Bede* in the same place relates, That *Augustine minor* (for so (g) *Fabius Ethelwerd* calls him, to difference him from *S. Augustine of Hippo*) the Monk, who first converted the Saxons to the Christian Religion, landed with his Company in this Island, and that *Ethelred* the King of *Kent* came into the Island to visite him: and also, that ancient \* Writers likewise report, That *Ethelred* had his Palace at old *Rutupia*; I cannot tell how *Leland*, (h) *Lambard*, and (i) *Harrison* could make it good, that *Rutupia* stood in the Island; but that since, as they say, the water changing its course, hath shut it clean out. Contrary to what *Camden* seems to have thought, and delivers concerning the ancient situation of the place: *Ad australe Wantsumi ostium, quod alveum mutasse credunt, è regione insulae apposta fuit urbs, quæ Ptolemæo Rutupia, &c.* At the "mouth of *Wantsum* Southward (which some suppose, sayes he, "hath changed its Channell) quite over against the Isle was a

G

City,

(b) *Isidor: Ety-  
mol: lib.*

\* à *Δάναος*.

(c) *Annot: in  
Solinum.*

(d) *Pro Vecta,  
five Vectis.*

(e) *Eccles; hist:  
lib: 1. cap: 25.*

(f) *Pol: Ver-  
gil: Hist: Angl:  
lib: 4.*

(g) *Ethel:  
Chronic: lib: 1.  
\* Gorcel: Berti-  
nian: in vita  
Augustini  
Cant.*

(h) *Xenagog:  
Cantii pag: 91.*

(i) *Descript:  
Brit: lib: 1. cap:  
8.*

See *Camb: p. 3.*

4.



(k) Talbot:  
Annot. MS. in  
Antonin.

City, by *Ptol.* called *Rutupia*, &c. And so likewise long before him *Talbot*, whose conjecture also it is, that *Ptolemie* therefore places it among the inland Cities (k) *Quod propter obiectum Thanati, sive Tenedi, insula paulo interiori sita videatur*; Because it seemed to stand more inwardly, by reason the Island *Tanet* was placed just over against it. As for *Ethelred's* Palace, that it was *Rutupia*, no man will question their authority that writ it, who shall once understand, that the old Saxon Kings through all *Britain*, constantly held their residence in Roman Stations, which afterwards by that means grew into great and frequented Townes and Cities, as will easily appear to the not indiligent Reader of *Beda*, and that in more then one place. And although I conceive much may be said to prove that *Rutupia* stood alwaies on the main land, yet I, of purpose, forbear to bring any thing of mine own the more to confirm it, till such time as some good opportunity shall give me leave to visit the place, and to become an eye-witness of the situation thereof. My main undertaking here is onely to illustrate the names in this *Itinerary*, with what I find in most ancient memories, and Monuments of remotest times concerning them.

(l) *Juga montium diffluunt; totæ defedere regiones. Ipsius naturæ opera vexantur.*  
*Sen. Ep: 92.*

Howèver in the mean while, we may do well to observe the strange and dismall effects of the powerfull execution of Time. Valleys exalted into Mountaines, and (l) great Hills abased into Valleys; firm Land become a Sea, and the Sea again turned into dry land: and in all things so great and various a change, that if our fore-Fathers, who lived some Ages ago, could awake now for a time out of their Graves (as they say *Epimenides* did out of his long sleep) they would meet with so far a greater alteration then he, that they would either not at all find, or else not know their own Country, and the very Land in which they were born, and drew their breath so long together: So true is that of the excellent Poet. (m)

(m) *Manilius*  
*Astron: lib: 1.*

*Epulae variant faciem per secula gentes;  
Nec se cognoscunt terra vertentibus annis.*

Th' *Epulans* still their Garb and Fashions change,  
Whose Land, in time, unto it self growes strange.

And this is that *Station*, 'or City.

—— *Rutupia notissima fama,*  
—— *Rutupia most renown'd:*

*Dives opum Veteri Roma dum regna manebant;  
Nunc tantum sinus & statio malefida carinis.*

Rich whilst old *Rome* did the Worlds Empire sway;  
Now a wild Road for Ships, and dang'rous Bay.

So



So famous in old time while the Roman name and power was able to manage its own Victories and greatneſs. Now it hath little more to boast of then its Ruines, which are themselves too (m) almost perished; Some Roman Coynes, as well Gold as Silver; The draught of its streets crossing one another, which appear in the Feilds, and are known to have been so by the thinness of Corn in them after it is come up; the remainder of some Walls of a Castle, of a rough Flint, and long British Bricks, in form of a Quadrant: scarce, all put together, a shadow of its former Glory. And after so many arguments both from the name, and other antiquities, to prove that *Rutupia* had here its being, we shall have no need to confute them, who did so *mordicus tenere* (as Mr (n) *Floyds* words are) Tooth and Nail maintain, that *Dover* was anciently so called, any other waies than by a bare relating of their opinion; although indeed *Dover* was a famous Haven-town, even in the Roman time, and named *Dubris* in this same Itinerary, in which it is one of the three noted Havens upon this Coast. But of that in its place; here, I am afraid, of *Rutupia* too much.

(m) How many, that I may so speak, whole Cities, both men and Townes; H. pomp- Her. and others, innumerable, are dead and gone. Antonin. M. De Se lib. 4. num. 39. & in Cas: (n) Frag: descriptionis Britan.

**STADIA]** There have scarce been more great Nations in the World of ancient times, then there have been also different Measures, thereby to know, not onely in Journeying the exact distance from place to place; but withall, the quantities and space of Lands and Possessions. This we learn from *Herodotus* in his second Mule, where he tells us, That the poorer sort among the *Aegyptians*, and such as had the smallest Possessions, used to measure by the *Bitta*, or *Passus*, that is, by paces, which contained five Feet. They of a better condition by the *Stadium*, which we take for our *Furlong*; of which more anon. They that had larger Demeasnes then ordinary, by the *Parasang*. But the Owners of great Lordships and Territories, measured altogether by the *schœnos*. Now of the two last, the former is by Grammarians said peculiarly to belong to the *Persians*, the other properly to the *Aegyptians*. But that indeed they were promiscuously used by both Nations, appears not onely by this Verse of (a) *Challimachus*,

(a) *Apud Plu lib. 7. de quæst. Græc.*

Μὴ μετρεῖν Σχόινω Πέρσων τὴν Κοπίαν:  
Nor measure *Wisdom* by the Persian *Schœnes*.

But by the Authority of (b) *Pliny* also, and other good Writers.

(b) *Nat. hist. lib. 6. cap. 26.*

However the *SCHœNOS* was most properly the *Egyptian* measure, and it contained two *Parasangs*, or threescore *Stadia*; as *Herodotus* also tells us in the same place. *Pliny* observes how ancient Authors differ about the quantity of its measure,



(c) Geograph:  
lib: 17.

(d) Geograph:  
lib: 1. cap: 11,  
12.

(e) In Ioelem  
cap: 3.

Unde αὐ-  
τῶν μίλι-  
ον ἐν. Math.  
5. 41.

(f) Hesych:  
Suid. Eustath.  
ὁ δ. 7.

(g) Herod: lib:  
8.

(h) Antiq: lib:  
11. cap. 6.

(i) In Exg:  
701.

(k) Apud Sui-  
dam.

(l) Hist: de Bel-  
lis Justin. l. 11.

(m) Cod: MS.

(n) Pref: ad  
lib: de Pede  
Rom: ad Cla-  
vis: Seldenum.

measure, as doth (c) *Strabo* likewise before him out of *Artemi-  
dorus*. But for further satisfaction in this, the more exact and  
learned Reader may have recourse to the anciently admired  
(d) *Ptolemie*, in whom you find it to consist not of above thirty  
*Stadia*. (e) *S. Jerome*, it should seem took it not for an Egyp-  
tian word (neither indeed have I it in my Catalogue of such,  
collected out of old Writers) for he renders it by *Funiculus*,  
making it signifie from the Greek: *In Nilo flumine*, sayes he,  
*solent naves funibus trahere, certa habentes spatia, quæ appellant fu-  
niculos*; they use to tow, or hale their Ships with Ropes,  
for certain limited and distinct spaces, which they call *funiculi*,  
along the shoars of *Nilus*. *Κῆρυξ*, signifying a Rope, but espe-  
cially such a one as is made of *Bul-rushes*.

The *P A R A S A N G A* was, *apud Persas viarum mensura*,  
a measure of waies among the *Persians*, saith *Festus*. The Ety-  
mologists deduce it from *פראש* *Parash*, A *Horsman*, and \* *ἀγλας*,  
*Angari*, which in *Hesychius*, is *λέξις Περσική*. a *Persian* word; and  
he interprets it, *The Kings Messengers, or Letter-Carriers* (called  
also in the same Language (f) *Astande*) placed in equidistant  
Stations, or Mansions; as doth *Suidas* also, following (g) *Herodo-  
tus*, and (h) *Josephus*. This measure consisted of XXX. *Stadia*, as  
(g) *Herodotus* writes in the place before cited, (i) and elsewhere. So  
(k) *Xenophon*, (l) *Agathias*, *Hesychius*, *Suidas*. But *Strabo* is very  
inconstant, according to the divers Authors he uses in severall  
places, making it sometimes thirty (as the most) sometime  
forty, sometime sixty *Stadia*. *Agathias*, though he follow the  
former authority for the measure, yet he uses not the word,  
but for it sets down *ἀναπίλους*, somewhat answerable to it, which  
signifies *resting*, or *baiting* places. And for *Hesychius*, though  
he grant thirty *Stad.* for the measure, yet you shall find in him  
moreover, *ὁ παρασάγγης ἔχει μίλια τέτταρα*. *The Parasang contains four  
miles*. But then he counts but seven *Stad.* and an half to the  
mile, and so it agrees exactly with his former reckoning, thirty  
*Stadia*; of which measure more anon, it having in the mean  
while occasioned the mentioning of these others. And here I  
may by no means omit, That by the *Persians* even to this day it  
is called *فارسا* *Farsang*; the name not yet quite corrupted,

or abolisht; as also by (m) *Abulfeda* the Geographer, who sayes  
it was esteemed but three miles by the *Ancients*, as well as *Mo-  
derns*: Which observation we owe to the exactly learned Ma-  
thematitian (n) *Mr. John Greaves* of *Oxford*. But that I my  
self may observe some measure, and have done with it; I will  
refer them that desire to know more, either concerning the  
*Arabian Parasangs*, in the *Nubian Geography* of *George Elmacinus*,  
or the *Jewish Parasangs*, in *Benjamin Tudelensis* his *Itinerary*, and  
how they differed one from the other, to what he shall find in  
*Constantinus*



Constantinus, L' Empereur's discourse, by way of Preface thereunto. And so much in this place of the Persian Parasang.

The ancient Gaules journeyed by the LEUCA, or LEUGA; which (o) Ammian. Marcellinus in plaine words doth witness, where he describes the beginning of Gaul: *Exindeque, faith he, non millenis, passibus, sed leucis Itinera metiuntur*: From thence they measure not their Journeys by Miles, but by Leagues. Now the Leuca or League, as we call it, was exactly a mile and halfe, or M D. paces. Jornandes sets it so plainly downe, *Leuca Gallica mille & quingentorum passuum metitur*. A Gallic league is a thousand and five hundred paces. And we may as plainly collect just so much out of the same (p) Ammianus, where, speaking of the Wars which Julian. Caesar made in Gaul, he hath these words, *A loco unde Romana promota sunt signa, adusque vallum Barbaricum, quarta leuca signabatur & decima; id est, unum & viginti millia passuum*: From the place, whence the Roman Ensignes were advanced, to the Wall (so it is in English) or Fortres of the Enemies, were fourteen leagues; that is, one and twenty miles. Such another passage is in the Acts of the Martyrdome of S. Genovefa, which I forbear not to transcribe hither; *Ab Aurelianense Urbe usque Turonum civitatem, quæ III. Lugdunensis nuncupatur, perhibentur stadia sexcenta, milliaria septuaginta quinque; leuca, quæ adhuc veteri Galorum lingua nuncupantur, quinquaginta*: From Orleance to Tours are said to be six hundred Stadia, seventy five miles, fifty leagues, as they are yet called in the old Gallic Language: Although this supputation agrees not with what it is at this day. Besides if you look into this very same Itinerary of Antoninus in our hands, you shall find some Journeys in Gaul, which indeed have the miles set down, but resolved into leagues: others reckon it onely by leagues, (neither of which he doth in any other Roman Province) and it exactly observeth the forenamed proportion, as Lunna M. P. XV. leug. X. &c. as far as Gessoriacum over against our shoar, of which you have former mention. So that (q) Isidorus by all means is to be corrected, and read, *Luca finitur mille passibus quingentis*; in the Printed book mille being left out, either by the oversight of the Transcriber of the Copy, or else of the Composer. This was observed before me, by one who was δεινός τε καὶ ταύτα. Concerning the leagues of later people, and times, I refer you to the very same most industrious and judicious (r) Antiquary.

The measure which the Germanes of old times used, was the RASTA: (s) *Viarum spatia rastas appellat universa Germania*. All Germany calleth the spaces of waies, Rastæ. What quantity of way this contained, we cannot know better then from the old Agrimensores, or Surveyors of Land, among the Gramaticall

(o) Histor. lib. 15.

(p) Histor. lib. 16.

(q) Origin. lib. 15. cap. 16.

(r) Spelman. in Archaeolog.

(s) Hieron. in Joel. cap. 3.



(t) Edit: Paris. maticall Authors, where you read pag. 14. (t) *Milliarius & dimidius apud Gallos Leuvam facit, habentem passus mille quingentos. Duæ Leuæ, seu milliarii tres, apud Germanos unam rastem efficiunt.* A mile and half among the Gauls makes a league, which contains M D. paces; two leagues, or three miles make a *Rasta* among the Germanes.

(u) Diction: MS. in Biblioth: Coll: K. Oxoniis.

(x) \* *Avéx-βρα.*

(y) Tit: XVI. leg: 3. apud Hier: *Suritam Hispanum.*  
\* Matth: 5. 41.

(z) Polyb: hist: lib: 3.

(a) *Salmasius in Solin: p. 688.*

(b) *Kloyas ad Sives Plut. in Gracchis.*

(c) *Rutil: Itinerar: lib: 2.*

To these we might add some other Dimensions of distances intended for the benefit of Travellers, as the D E X T R I: but to what people they belonged is uncertain. The old (u) *Papias* renders them, *Passus mensurandi apud quosdam*; but he tells us not whom: you shall meet with them also in *Florentius* concerning the Acts (x) of the Martyrdome of S. Felix; *A loco isto usque ad Castrum Toringum habentur dextri ducenti.* From thence to *Toring* Castle are reputed two hundred *dextri*. We may take notice likewise of the M I G E R I A among the Spaniards of old time, three of which, as you may learn out of the *Partita*, being the second Volume (y) of the ancient Spanish *Laves*, made a *League*; So that it was some half a mile, and not much more.

But the Mile was Roman, called *μίλιον* by \* S. Matthew *Plutarch*, D. O. & C. by *Peanius* the Greek Metophrast of *Eutropius*, *σημείον* and commonly M I L L I A R I U M, *mille passus*, from a thousand paces, of which exactly it did consist, every pace containing five feet Roman, somewhat larger then ours. This measuring by feet was called *Podismus*, of *ποδίζεν*, as *βηματίζεν*, was to measure by paces, and *stadia*, by the *Stadium*; by which they computed their miles, as well as by the *Passus*, as *Polybius* witnesseth, speaking of their miles (z) *ταῦτα νῦν βεβηματίζουσι, καὶ ἑσμεύουσι καὶ σταδίοις ὅτι δὲ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι.* That is, heedfully, but how heedfully we shall see anon. The *Stadium* also consisted of paces, as an old Author urged by (a) *Salmasius*, tells us; *Per passus stadium, per stadium milliarium.* At every miles end exactly, as I said, laid forth, they used to set up a (b) small Pillar of stone, first ordered so by the appointment of the *Gracchi*, as we find in *Plutarch*; whence the usuall expression grew, *Ad tertium ab Urbe lapidem, ad IV. ad V. & C.* That is, so many miles from the City. And from these Pillars which also were called *Cippi*, we find in *Strabo*, *ὅδους ἐσηλωμένους*, because in the high waies from Rome, such *σῆλαι*, or Pillars, were placed at each miles end: which (c) *Rutilius Numatianus*, an Heathen Poet, hath very quaintly expressed.

*Intervalla viæ fessis præstare videtur,  
Qui notat inscriptus millia crebra Lapis.*

The Weary well are pleas'd to see that Stone  
Tells them how many miles 'tis to the Town.

Now



Now the Romans took their account of miles from the (c) *Milliarium aureum*, set up by (d) *Augustus* in *Rome*, in the head (e) of the *Forum*, under (f) *Saturn's Temple*, in *umbilico urbis*; the count of their Journeys through all *Italy* beginning at it, and ending there, as it is commonly delivered. Howbeit we are told by an old Lawyer, *Aemil. Macer*, that (g) *Mille passus non à milliario urbis, sed à continentibus ædificiis, numerandi sunt*. At new *Rome* too, or *Constantinople*, which imitated all things that were in the old, was also a *milliarium aureum*; you may see for it in *Cedrenus* the Greek Chronicler: yet by him, as also *Suidas*, it is described rather as an Edifice; when as the other is expressly called (h) *A Golden Pillar*. For the very same purpose, as the Learned *Camden* is of opinion, was that Stone set up with us in *Canning-street*, called *London-stone*, alledging to confirm his conjecture, the placing of it in the midst of the City, where it runs on in length, and within that way the old *Roman Street* or Highway did lead, which, forthwith going along from it, is called *Watling-street*; of which elsewhere I shall have more occasion to speak. In the mean while I must by no means let pass, that the miles used in this *Itinerary*, are much shorter then the shortest this day in *Italy*, or any where else; they being but precisely M. paces, as aforesaid: which in more places then one in this ensuing work, we shall be put to it to remember you of. For whereas the ordinary league now a daies is accounted three miles, it may not be understood of these in the *Itinerary*, but the usuall ones, according to the measure of later ages; This will appear by the intervalls of Stones remaining even to our times, with their Inscriptions yet legible in divers places; especially in *Portugall*, wherein the *Military*, or High-way to *Emerita Augusta* (so called from the *Emeriti* placed there by *Augustus*, now *Merida*) the severall Pillars inscribed, do distinguish the severall miles, and they that have taken a dimension of the space (among others is (i) *Charolus Clusius* a very learned man) do affirm that four of them do make up one league, as it is considered now a daies: And for the *Mile* so much.

The *STADIUM* (which occurring in this place, hath given us occasion to mention the foregoing measures) was the more especiall dimension of the *Grecians* in ancient times, and also in later, as well by Sea, as Land. For the use of it by Sea, this *Itinerary* in this very place doth shew it; so that I need not much to urge that place in *S. Johns Gospel*: (k) *And putting forth about five and twenty, or thirty [stadious] Furlongs*, as we translate it. Nor that neither in *Cicero* (l) *A portu Corcyraeorum ad Cassioperi stadia CXX. processimus*: But that it contains the description of a Voyage of his from beyond the promontary of *Leucas* in *Epire* to *Brundisium* in *Italy*; not unlike

(c) Post Plutarch: in Galba  
adi in Barth:  
Marl. Topograph: Rom.  
lib: 3. cap: 18.  
Alex Donatam De urbs  
Romalib: 2.  
cap: 14.  
(d) Dio hist:  
lib: 54.  
(e) Plin: lib:  
3. cap: 5. P. Vi-  
etor: in 8. Urb:  
regione.  
(f) Suet: in  
Oth: cap: 9.  
(g) D. de Verb:  
signif: Tit. 154.  
(h) Xvss;  
κίωv. Plut.

(i) Apud Lipsium  
Cem: 3.  
epist: 59.

(k) Iohn 6.19.

(l) Cic. ad Ti-  
tonem lib: 16.  
epist: 9.



(n) Act: cap:  
27. & 28.

(o) Thucyd:  
hist:lib:6.

(p) Herod: Lu-  
terpe, five lib:  
2.

(q) Pol:Ono-  
mast:lib:3.

(r) Iac: Gothofr.  
de Suburb: Reg:  
p. 13.

(s) Chrysf: in  
Idon: Tom: 2. p.  
817. edit. Savil.

(t) Const: Har-  
menop: Epit:  
Iuris lib: 2. tit:  
4. Casaub: ad  
Strat: lib: 6.

(u) Hero lib:  
 1767 MS.

quem γνήσι-  
ον esse negat.  
Savil: lectur: 2.  
in Euclidem.

(x) Scalig:  
Euseb:p:203.

(y) Plin. epist.  
2. lib: 6.

(2) Cæs: Com.  
4, & 5.

to that of S. Paul, by *Sidon* from *Cæsarea* to *Puteoli*, and so to *Rome*, most accurately set down by (n) *Luke* the Historian of the *Acts* of the Apostles, neither of them unsuitable to this discourse. The *Sea-stadium* seems to have differed from that by Land, which we observe from (o) *Thucydides*, where he tells us, that the compass of *Sicily* is little less than eight daies sayl for a Ship, and though so great, is yet divided with no more than twenty Furlongs, Sea measure, from the Continent. We cannot seek beyond *Herodotus* to learn the measure of the *stadium*, which thus he expresseth, (p) αἱ δὲ ἐκ τὸν ὀργυαὶ δίσταται εἰς σταδίον ἑξάμπεδον. The Interpreters thus render it; *Centum autem justi passus sunt stadium unum sex jugerum turnius*: ὀργυαί, by *Passus*, which indeed is described by (q) *Polux* to be the measure, or space, from the extremity of each long Finger cross the breast, when both armes are stretched out, which in English we call a *Fathome*; and about that quantity *Herodotus* expresses it to be in the next words, *Passus inquam mensuræ sex pedum, sive quatuor cubitorum*. So then it is *mensura pedum sexcentorum*. *Herodotus* his *stadium* will be of a hundred and twenty ordinary paces, and just so many doth *Maximus Planudes*, or whosoever else translated *Cæsars* Commentaries into Greek, allow, resolving his miles into *stadia*, as appears. Commonly they make a *stadium* to be a hundred and twenty five paces, and so eight of them will be just *M. passus*, or a mile; yet others reckon but seven and a half to it; as (r) *Dio. Cassius*, (s) *Chrysostome*, (t) *Julianus Ascalonita*, (u) *Hero* the Surveyor (x) *Georgius Syncellus*, *Suidas*, &c. Hence it is we read in *Plutarchs Gracchi*, τὸ δὲ μέλιον ὀλίγον σταδίων ὀλίγον ὀμπεδί. i. *A mile is little less than eight stadia*. And this shall be enough to have spoken concerning the *stadium*, and other measures of waies, if not perhaps more then enough. But I alwaies think of that of *Pliny*, (y) *Satius est supervacua dici, quam non dici necessaria*. It followes.

STAD. NUMERO CCCCL.] In the *Maritime Itinerary* of *Simlers* Edition, which follows this, you have but CCCCL. Certainly it should be mended from hence, for it is right so in that of *Aldus*. We will here take a view of the severall passages in old time, and how they differed, according as severall Authors have set them down. And first *Cæsar*, who had the credit first of any Roman to sayl hither, tels us, that not onely (2) *brevissimum a portu Iccio*, but also *Commodissimum in Britanniam transiectum esse ignoverat, circiter millium passuum XXX. à continenti*; the shortest, and most convenient cut, into *Britain* was from *Portus Iccius*. In *Cæsar's* best Copies you have XL. as *Merula* witnesseth, which, sayes he, according to our reckoning at this day, will be thirteen leagues, or German miles: and much about such a distance between the shoars by *Gessoriacum*.



*Gessoriacum*, or *Bononia* (West of which, and very neer, he supposes *Itius* to have been; but *Cluverius*, as you have heard, thought them the same) and the nearest Coast of *England*. This *Iccius* in *Ortelius* is *Sithien*, as it were, *Sinus Itius*: and in *Camden*, it is *Vitsan*. But *De Portu Iccio*, there is extant a particular discourse of one *Jacobus Chiffletius*; and the learned (b)

(b) *Mer. Casaub. Comment. de 4. linguis. ubi de lingua veteri Anglica.*

Doctor *Casaubon* gives us hope, we shall ere long see a Discertation of the same Subject by Master *William Somner*, an accute and industrious Antiquary of *Canterbury*; and so clear those doubts which have so long held us incertain, notwithstanding studious and diligent disquisition about it. The correction of this place the learned (c) *Is. Casaubon* the others Father (for

(c) *Is. Casaub. in Strab. lib. 4.*

*Casaubon* is nothing but a name of great learning) much approves of, especially because it was so in that Book of his, which *Strabo* used so long agoe  $\chi\tau\eta\ \iota\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta\nu\ \omega\gamma\alpha\rho\tau$ .  $\chi\tau\eta\ \epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\ \sigma\alpha\delta\iota\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , he arrived the next day having sayled CCCXX. Stad. which will make XL. miles. Neither doth

(d) *Eustath. in Dionysij. περὶ ἡγεμονίας.*

(d) *Eustathius* his setting down,  $\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ , that is three hundred *Stadia*; or thirty seven miles and a halfe, where he in relating *Cæsars* passage, word for word almost followes *Strabo*, trouble us at all, as knowing that he, as well as other good writers, makes use of the round or even, little minding the overplus number: except any one will say it is the Transcribers, or Composers heedlesnesse, who for  $\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\epsilon\varsigma$  might copy out  $\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\epsilon\varsigma$  which yet I think not. Now indeed the same *Strabo* writes, that there were, as I told you before, IV. passages,  $\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \chi\omega\rho\alpha\iota\ \zeta\omega\eta\theta\omega\varsigma$ , which they commonly make use of going into the Iland; From the mouths of the *Rhene*, of the *Sein*, of the *Loire*, and of the *Garonne*. He tells us also in the same Book, that the passage, from the *Lexobii* and *Casetes* into *Britain*, is  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu\ \eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , lesse then a dayes sayling. Yet admitting that, whereas he sayes that the passage from *Rhene*, and *Sequana*, is but 320. *Stadia*, the very distance, (according to him) from *Itius*, or the shoares of the *Morini*, surely therein he mistakes himself, being able to speak more exactly, would he but have remembred himself. For the *Sein* is much remoter from the Coast of *Britain*, and (e) *Zosimus* the Greek Historian affirmes, that from the parts lying by the mouth of the *Rhene* to this Iland, are 900. *Stadia*, which resolved into English miles, make 112, and a half.

(e) *Zosim. Hist. lib. 4.*

But others make the nearest passage into *Britain* X. miles further then *Cæsar*. As (f) *Plinie*; *Britannia abest a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis littore proximo trajectu L. millium minimum*: *Britain* is distant from *Gessoriacum* (which was *Iccius*, as you heard, or very near it) fifty miles at least. Take notice of that *minimum*, for others, as *Antoninus* here, make the distance 56. miles and a quarter. So (g) *Dio Cassius*, speaking of *Cæsars* first expedition,  $\tau\omicron\delta\ \zeta\omega\iota\tau\omicron\mu\omega\tau\alpha\pi\eta$ , the very shortest cut is CCCCL. *Stadia*, that is

(f) *Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

(g) *Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 39.*



(h) Beda Eccl.  
Hist. Angl.  
lib. I. cap. I.

(i) Diodor. lib.  
5. Biblioth.  
ἐστὶ δὲ διὰ-  
πλευρῆς ἡμῶν ἡ-  
μέρας. Appi-  
an. Alexandr.  
in Iberico.

56. miles and a quarter. Venerable Beda, the ancient glory of our Nation, puts together, for better satisfaction, both the summes. His words are, speaking of *Rutupia*: (h) *Interposito mari a Gessoriaci Morinorum gentis littore proxima trajectu milliarium quinquaginta, sive, ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum quadringentorum quinquaginta.* In the former he followes Pliny, in the latter, I am confident he had his eye upon this very place of *Antoninus*. For *Dio* was an Author scarce known, if at all, in his age. Later times made us acquainted with him, and with what ancient memorialls of ours he hath happily reskued from the devouring jawes of oblivion and time, which soonest consume the best and noblest Monuments. But I had wel-nigh forgotten the distance in (i) *Diodorus Siculus*: τὸ μὲν ἐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠπείρου διεσπῆκτος ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλεῖται Κάντιον, ὃ φασὶν ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίους ὡς ἑκατὸν. The least cut over is from the Fore-land of Kent, which they say is distant from the Continent about a 100. Stadia, that is 12. miles, and an half. What to think of it, I know not, but that the number is corrupted in this place. It is to be greived therefore that we have lost *Diodorus* his fortieth Book of his Histories, in this here mentioned by him, wherein he tells us he would set down the British matters, or *Cæsars* invasion; out of *Cæsar* it is most likely (for in his age he lived) and so the losse comes to be so much the lesse.

And now, having after an uneven passage, arrived safe in the Island, let us more luckily, if we can, begin our journeying upon sure ground, which yet we shall not doe from this very place where we first landed. We must take our way then in the Inland, as we see it set down, and scor'd out for us.

## THE FIRST JOURNEY.

[**A** LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO, PRÆTORIUM USQ. M.P. CLVI.] This first Journey is from the LIME S, or bound of the Roman Empire in the North part of our *Britain*, XIV. miles beyond the Picts Wall, as they call it, or *Severus* his *Valum*; to *Patrington*, an old Haven-town upon the *Torkeshire*-side of *Humber*, called by *Ptolemie*,

(a) Ptol. Geograp. lib. 2.]

Ἰσθμὸς ἐν Χωρῇ, or (a) *Aejuarium Abi*.

[ID EST, A VALLO.] The learned *Camden*, by a right conjecture, advises to exclude these words [*id est a Vallo*] as a *glossema* foisted in by some *sciolus*, who indeavouring to illustrate the text, hath made it more obscure, and the site of the first Station in this Journey, and so of the rest, lesse easily to be guessed at. And yet two very learned men, but strangers indeed



indeed to our Affaires, have still retained and asserted them : so much could the fame of *Severus Wall* do. *Itinerarium, Vallum, imperii limitem, appellat* (saith (b) *Guidus Pancirolus* : (The Itinerary) he means this in our hands) makes the Wall, the *Limet*, or boundary, of the Empire in *Britain*. And *Jerom Surita* the Spaniard, who hath written a Commentary upon this very Itinerary (which yet in (c) *Thuanus* judgment might better have been intitled *Variae Lectiones*) tells us, that *ratio ipsa docet*, reason it self sheweth, *Bremenium opidum in Valli limite*, that *Bremenium*, a Town by the Wall, was made choice of, as a set place to begin this Journey at. Whereas by this Itinerary, *Bremenium* which is the *Limes*, must needs stand XIV. miles beyond the Wall, as we shall see hereafter.

Now seeing among the severall sorts of the LIMETS of the Roman Empire; as (c) Seas, (d) greater Rivers, (e) Mountaines, (f) Desert Lands, and unpassable, such as be in this Tract : (g) Trenches, with their (h) Rampiers, (i) Mounds of Trees cut down or plashed, (k) Castles were ever thought of most efficacy, and serviceableness to repell the Enemy; and there remaining, yet the carkasses, or ruines, of many to be seen hereabout, we may well place the *Limes*, or bound of the Empire here, about the time this Itinerary was published, in this place; the unreduced Northern people having made their impression neere so far, bearing down *Antoninus Pius* his Wall in *Scotland*.

And yet, though we cannot admit, that the *Vallum* was the *Limes* in this place, we grant however it was built and already reared up at that time, as appears by the next journey, which begins at *Blatum bulgium*, or *Bulnesse*, an old Station at the end of the Wall in *Cumlerland*. And had *Bremenium* been so neare the Wall, he would have begun this Journey A VALLO, as well, and rather, then the next, without A LIMITE; or else in the next to have added A Limite also. But if any shal by way of objection urge that place out of the Novell Constitutions of *Theodosius* the Emperour: *Majorum dispositione Vallo Limitis ab incurfione Barbarica defensatur, quicquid intra Romani nominis concluditur potestatem*: Whatsoever was Roman in old time, was kept with the rampier of a Limet from the incurfion of enemies; we have nothing then to say for our selves, but that *Bremenium* was one of those *Agraciae stationes*, which *Vegetius* speaks of, used in the Roman warfare, to be placed in solo Barbarico, upon the Enemies ground, to descry and reveal what new attempts and stirs they made: such as were those *Exploratores*, I may render them Scouts, placed at *Bremenium* for that purpose, as we shall see by the following Inscription.

These Grounds and lands recovered from the Enemies, *Alexander Severus*, the Emperour bestowed on the Captaines [Limi-

(b) Guid. Pancirol. Comm. in Notit. Occid. Imperii cap. 89.

(c) Thuan. in Surita Elogio.

(c) Oceanus, & mare Mediterr. circa Pontum & Meotim. (d) Danub. & Euphrates aliquando Rhenus & Tigris.

(e) In Asia Taurus: alii alibi.

(f) Herodian. lib. 2.

(g) Ibidem.

(h) Muris Barbaros sumovere, Hadrianus, nisi fallor, primus instituit.

(i) Tacitus An.

1. Ammian lib.

16. Vide & Cas-

sarem. lib. 5.

ubi quid sit opidum apud Britan. docet.

(k) Herod. ubi

supra de Augu-

sto Aurel. Victor

de Trojan. Zo-

sim. lib. 2. de

Dioclesiano sed

in adis Is.

Causab. ad

Spartiarum.



*taneis ducibus*] and Souldiers of the Marches, so that they became their propriety, if their heires served likewise there as Souldiers, supposing they would prove more heedfull and wary in defence of what they supposed to be their own, *Verba hæc velim notes*, saith judicious Camden, *nam hinc vel species feudi, vel origo feudorum*. But have recourse to himselfe at thy leasure, Gentle Reader.

And here, having taken notice of *Theodosius* his Testimony concerning the ancient fencing of the *Limites* of the Empire, we may do well to give notice of those severall Stations in his time, placed *per lineam Valli*, to keep off the frequent inrodes of the more Northernly Britains, called the *Picts*, as also of the *Scoti Attacotti*, and others. But a more speciall survey of them, standing much neerer the Wall then *Bremenium*, will be taken more conveniently elsewhere out of the *Notitia Occidentalis Imperii*, written not long before the power of the Empire began to decline in *Britain*; and because it containes the State of the Roman Affaires here in his dayes, it is called by *Andr. Alciat*, the famous Lawyer of the last age, *Theodosii Breviarium*, as is already said in what goes before. Concerning the *Limes Saxonicus* in *Britain*, you may see more in \* *Panciro*l.

\* Comment. in  
Notit. Occiden-  
tis cap. 75.

M. P.] *Mille passus*. A thousand paces, or an Italian Mile, exactly measured, and marked out, as I have shewed before. Wherefore *Surita*, where he sets down M. P. *Apud Antoninum quid significet*: deservedly, as well as sharply, censures the stupidity and illiteratenesse of him, who in all Copies before his time, one onely a very old one excepted, interprets these marks M. P. by *Millia plus minus*: so many, or so many Miles, more or lesse, under or over: Very sencelessly. Nor is our (f) *Talbot*, of whom in the beginning, free from this jocular conceit, or rather foule mistake. See the old *Valerius Probus de Notis Antiquarum Literarum*.

(f) Annot.  
à Ven. P. P. P.  
in Antoninum.

M. P. CLVI.] From the *Limes*, or Bound, to *Prætorium*, or *Patrington*, are set down in the foot of the Account 156. miles: and to so many do the particular numbers arise, if with *Aldus*, and *Simlerus*, we make the distance from *Isurium* to *York* to be 17. miles, not as in *Surita's* edition, 14. but he notes withall that he found 17. in two of his Copies: And that is the distance between these two Stations in the next Journey of his Edition: although in *Aldus* and *Simler* it be 18. The Interpolation, and corruption, of numbers, not in *Ptolemie* onely, but in our *Antoninus* also, hath been the maine cause of doubt and difficulty in assigning the right places to many mansions in them both. But now we come to examine, after this preamble, the particulars of the Journey it selfe:



Editio

<i>Aldina.</i>	<i>Suritana.</i>	<i>Simleriana.</i>
Ab Remaenio	A BREMENIO COR- STOPILUM. M. P. XX. VINDOMORAM. M. P. IX. VINOVIAM. M. P. XIX. CATARACTONEM. M. P. XXII. ISURIUM. M. P. XXIV. EBORACUM LEG. VI. VIC- TRIX. M. P. XVII. DERVENTIONEM. M. P. VII DELGOVITIAM. M. P. XIII. PRÆTORIUM. M. P. XXV.	Bramenio Cor- stopitum. Viconia. Ebur -- 17

A BREMENIO.] Here then we begin at *Bremenium*, some XIV. miles beyond the Wall. The name of this Station hath met with much interpolation, whether through the transcribers fault, or Composers at the Presse, or both, it much matters not. *Aldus* hath *Ab Remaenio*; but that may be soon mended. *Simler* Prints it *Bramenio*; which *Ortelius* seems to accept of, and our (a) *William Harrison* followes him. *Bremenio*, as it appears, was constantly written in all those old Books, and they not a few, which *Surita* used; otherwise, he would have noted it. So likewise all *Ptolemies* Copies have it, which I have seen [*Βρεμενιον*] except that, which otherwise is accounted the very best, published by *Petrus Bertius* out of the Palatin MS. where you have *Αρεμενιον* *Aremenium*; doubtlessly by the Printers mistake. In him (b) it is a City of the *Οταδενοι*, *Otadeni*. And certainly the true name is *Bremenium*; which the Inscription of an old Altar makes unquestionable, taken up at (c) *Rocheſter* in *Northumberland*, standing upon the brow of a steep rising Hill (whence it is named) not far from the spring or head of the *Rhead*, where it was found buried among the rubbish of an ancient *Castrum*, or Camp.

(a) *Harris. Descrip. Britan. lib. 4. ad finem.*

(b) *Ptol. Geograph. lib. 2.*

(c) *i. e. Castrum in Rupe.*

D. R. S.  
DUPL. N. EXPLOR.  
BREMEN. ARAM  
INSTITUERUNT  
N. EJUS C. CAEP.  
CHARITINO TRIB  
V. S. L. M.

“ It meanes thus much: The Companies of Scouts receiving double pay; or rather, the Souldiers of the Band, or Company



“ Company of the Scouts receiving double pay, dedicated an  
 “ Altar at *Bremenium* to his Majesty (you must conceive some  
 “ Roman Emperour:) When they made good this their Vow  
 “ willingly, as by him deserved: *Cæpio Charitimus* (for so it must  
 “ be read) was then their *Tribune*, or cheif Commander.) It is a  
 peice of Antiquity highly to be valued, almost near veneration,  
 which having still preserved the name and memory of the de-  
 cayed Station, may now be instead of a Tombstone to it fallen  
 into its own ashes, as well as it was formerly erected for a Mo-  
 nument to the Emperors honor, and for his safety. And if  
 Cicero could make such boast for finding out the Grave of the  
 Mathematician (d) *Archimedes*, *humilis homunculi*, as he saith, a  
 very mean man, not full two hundred years after his Buriall, yet  
 quite unknown to his Country men the Syracusians, how much  
 more deservedly might our *Camden* have taken upon him, who,  
 after thirteen hundred years at least, discovered the name and  
 ruines of the most valiant and resolute Garrison of *Britain*, the  
 Bulwarke sometimes, and defence of the Natives, as well as the  
 Provincials. Wherefore to illustrate it a little, in behalf of the  
 Youth of this Island, studious of glorious things long before  
 their own times, I shall account no losse of time, or my  
 pains.

(d) Cic. Tus-  
cul. Quæst. 5.

DUPL.] There were in the Roman *Malitia*, *Duplares*; such as received double pay, double provision of Corne, ray-ment, &c. and *Simplares*; who had onely single pay. The *Duplares* were also named *Duplicarii*; *quibus ob virtutem duplicia ci- baria ut darentur institutum est*, (e) saith *Varro*. The Greeks called them (f) *διμοιραίους* and *διμοιρίτας* (for *Hesychius* is to be mended in whom you find *διμοιρίτης*, *διμοιράιος*) from *μοῖρα*, a Souldiers allowance in *Homer*, *Il. i.*

(e) *Varro* de L.  
L. lib. 4.  
(f) *Ian. Rut.*  
*Varian. lib. 5.*  
cap. 20. in *Isa-*  
ac: *Porphyro-*  
gen. *Charact.*  
Gr. & *Trojanor-*  
um.

Ἰσὺ μοῖρα μένοντι, καὶ εἰ μάλ' αὖτις πολέμιοι.

Cowards and valiant men have all one pay.

(g) *Veget. de*  
*Ro. milit. lib.*  
2: cap. 7:  
(h) *Cæs. de bello*  
*Cir. lib. 3:*

(i) *Val. Max-*  
*im. lib. 3: cap. 2:*

(k) *Is. Otadenis*  
*etiam.*  
(l) *A Sabina*  
*Hadriani Imp.*  
*uxore.*

So that from him *διμοιράιος* signifies in *Vegetius* his words; (g) *qui binas annonas consequitur*. Such was that Cohort in *Cæsar*: (h) *Cohortem duplici stipendio, frumento, veste, pecunia* (so the exact Antiquary, *Ant. Augustinus* reads; others otherwise) *militaribusque donis amplissime donavit*. To add here, though not to my purpose, that *Cassius Scæva*, (i) whose valour so extraordinarily appear'd upon the British Coast, in *Cæsars* time, and whose name is so rise in our History, was the Centurion of this Cohort, I hope will offend no body. But of him enough elsewhere. You have not far from (k) hence another Stone likewise inscribed *Duplares Alæ* (l) *Sabinae*. Such as exposed their lives to greatest hazard and danger, as every where here about upon the Limer, by excellent reason deserved double pay, and encouragement.  
N.]



N.] *Numeri*. In the ages of the declining Empire, the Legions themselves by little and little came to be called *Numeri*. There is a special place in *Sozomenus* his Ecclesiasticall History; (m) τὰ Ρωμαίων τάγματα (by which word, as also by τέλη, not onely the *Auxilia*, and the greatest Companies, and numbers whatever, but the *Legions* also are to be understood in *Zosimus*, and others.) ἀνω ἀριθμοὺς καλοῦσι, which now they call *Numeri*. And the command over such a Body of men, could not but be thought very honorable, when as *Valentinian* the Emperor having made *Fraomarius* King of a Nation of the *Almains*, somewhat over-run with warr, to make him amends for his harassed Kingdome, he dispatches him into *Britain*, and bestowes upon him the Tribune-Ship of the *Numerus Alemannorum* there, (n) *multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti*, excelling at that time for multitude, and strength. The Tribune here, is *C. Capio Charitimus*; of whom we know nothing else.

(m) *Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

(n) *Amm. Marcel. lib. 29.*

EXPLOR.] They were the Scout-watch, alwaies upon the Guard, to learn and discover, what inrodes and invasions were attempted by the Enemies upon the Frontiers. By the ancient Greeks they were called (o) κατάσκοποι, who were sent out to descry the motions of the Enemy. But I conceive they were no others, then such as by stealth, and in a skulking way, did what they did; as the Spies, which *Rahab* entertained at (p) *Jericho*; *Ulysses*, and *Diomedes*; as also *Dolon*, in (q) *Homer*, upon whom *Eustathius*, expounding the word [ἐπισκοπος] (for in him  *Hector* is called ἐπισκοπος *Troiae*; that is, *Defender*, and *Guardian*: and such are they, whose carefull watching preserves the people:) he doth it by κατάσκοπος, interpreting it, εἰ σκεπόμενοι εἰς πολέμους, they that are sent to the Enemies; that is, to spie out and discover their doings. Hence have you in *Cicero ad Atticum*, and (r) *Plutarch*, κατὰσκοπικὰ πλοῖα, *Exploratoria navigia*; and *Cata scopum*, perhaps in (s) *Hirtius*. *Literis celeriter in siciliam conscriptis*, & per *Cata scopum missis*: for such a Boat, or Vessell, as waited upon the courses of the Enemy. We will see elsewhere.

(o) *Ebr. 11. 31.*

(p) *Iosh. 2. 1.*  
(q) *Il. 6.*

(r) *Plutarch. in Catone.*  
(s) *Hirt. lib. de bello Africano.*

But these *Exploratores* here, were whole Bands, Troops, or Regiments at least, still lying between home and the Enemy, to give intelligence; by (t) *Plutarch* called διοπτεῖρες καὶ διαγγελοι. By (u) *Amm. Marcellinus*, sometimes, *Speculatores* sometimes, *Excursatores*; as in the XXIV. Book: *Excursatores*; quin- gentos & mille sensim præire disposuit, qui cautius gradientes ex utroque latere, itidemque à fronte, ne quis repentinus irrueret, prospectabant. (x) *Dio Cassius*, they say, calls them ἀπακούσαντες καὶ διοπτύοντες, but searching out the place, in the speech which *Livia* hath to her Husband *Augustus*, I find that nothing is there meant, but domestick spies and Informers; the very plagues of great Courts: and that in allusion to the Persian custome, where

(t) *Plutarch. in Galba.*

(u) *Marcellin. lib. 16. & 18.*

(x) *Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 55.*



(y) Barn. Briff.  
de Regno Per-  
sar. lib. 1.  
(z) Dion.  
Fragm. n. 83.

(a) viñ. in Ce-  
saribus.

\* Marcellin.  
lib. 28.

† Anab  
Agēs, Vi-  
dendus est Io.  
Lydius, &  
Henr. Spelman.  
Archæolog. in  
Arimann.  
(b) Const. de  
Administ.  
Imper. cap. 53.  
(c) Idem. in  
Themat. Orien-  
tis.  
(d) Iac. Cujac.  
Observar. lib. 6.  
cap. 33.

\* ἰσ, εφορίας.

(a) Zos. Histor.  
lib. 2. εν  
ταῖς ἐσχά-  
ταις πόλεσι  
καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ  
πύργοις, &c.

where the King had his Eares, and Eyes; of which Officers what the Ancients have spoken, (y) *Brissonius* hath exactly collected. However the same (z) *Dio*, in his Fragments which *Fulv. Ursinus* set forth, calleth these *Explaratores*, διόλως καὶ ἐρευνήτας and seperates them from *Tabellarii*, or Letter-carriers, with whom learned men notwithstanding have confounded them: but of them more, when we come to *Ptolemies A L A T A C A S T R A*: The Glosses upon the βασιλική, or Imperiall Constitutions: Εξπλωράτοι πρέσβεις, ἀποκρισιάρχιοι, ἐξπλωράτωρες, who were sent, *ad explorandum si qui hostium motus existerent*, as (a) *Aurel. Victor* speaks. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* thus accurately describes his *Speculatores Areani*, or *Exploratores*; removed from their Stations in *Britain* by *Theodosius* upon a charge of Treason: \* *Id illis erat officium, ut ultrò citroque per longa spatia discurrentes vicinarum gentium strepitus nostris ducibus intimarent*. He saies there that they were *genus hominum a veteribus institutum*, but why so cal'd not a word. † Perhaps he had done it in *actibus Constantis*, whither he refers us; but they are utterly lost. In the very later times of the Empire, *Constantinus Porphyrogeneta* the Emperour (b) calls them *σκελάρτες*, and (c) elsewhere, *σβουλάρτες*, corruptly. In the former place the learned *Meursius* mends it *Εξκουλάρτες*, and renders it *Exploratores*. In the later place *Bon. Vulcanius* restores *σκελάρτες*, which at that time was usuall for *Auscultatores*, of which see especially the admired (d) *Cujacius*, besides *Meursius* in his Greek Glossary.

But to have done. In severall places else there is mention of the *Exploratores* in *Britain*; perhaps in, or neer upon the same age. In the next Journey of *Antoninus* there is, *Castra Exploratorum*. And in the *Notitia*, or Survey of the Westerne Empire, *Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum Lavatre*; a place on this side the Wall. And *Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum Portu Adurni, sub dispositione V. Spectabili*; *Comitis littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*; an Haven in *Suffex-coast*; all which you shall meet with, by that we leave off. Breifly, and not be troublesome, the Stations appointed for the purpose we have all this while spoken of, are handsomely called \* πόλεις ἐφωρίας, i. Towns of view or discovery, by *Aristides* the Orator in his Panegyrick of the City *Rome*. Many of this kind did *Dioclesian*, after other Emperors, out of his providence appoint upon the *Limets* of the Empire, as (a) *Zosimus* relates, all which that *Constantine* the Great did afterward dismantle, I have some good reason, from the writers no good effectiō to him, not to believe. And thus much for this Inscription, so highly to be valued, as I said before; without which we had never known for *Antonine* where *Bremenium* was to be found; though *Ptolemie* indeed afford some light thereto, the situation well enough agreeing with the numbers in him; and yet for all that among so many severall

ruines



ruines of old Campes, and Fortresses neer one another, hardly otherwise to have been pointed out from the rest. That it was therefore at *Rochester*, besides what hath been said, the name at this day, as is before hinted, will evidently conclude; it signifying as much as *Castrum in Rupe*, the Camp or Station on the Rock; a fit place for the purpose it was here placed. And indeed it is to be observed that all places ending in *Chester*, fashioned in the Saxon times, arise from the ruines of the old Roman *Castra*; and therefore the ancient Stations about the Wall, the carkasses of many of which at this day appear, are called *Chesters* by the Country people. Besides, all the Roman Colonies, Towns, Stations, or Forts, generally were set upon Hills: (b) which *Manilius* the Poet doth elegantly in these verses expresse.

(b) *Manil. Astron. lib. 2.*

*Ac veluti nudis surgunt cum mœnibus Urbes,  
Conditor & vacuos muris circumdare Colles  
Destinat*——

And as great Cities rise with Turrets Crown'd,  
Whose Hills when Builders skilfully surround,  
With spacious Walls——

But it is a pittifull thing to see how other learned men have mis-placed this Garrison, and in vain searcht for it. *Talbot* looks for it at the East-end of the Wall: but at last resolves it was at *Bamborough* Castle near *Berwick*. *Mich. Villanovianus*, and *Paulus Jovius* will have it at *Berwick*. *Jos. Moletius* sets down *Brevish* (a Town I am yet to seek for in the Map.) to his *Ptole-mie*, whom our *Wil. Fulke*, a studious Antiquary, as well as a great Divine, dissents not from: but to *Antonine* he noted *Bambarow*, as *Talbot* had done before. And *Camden* himself had pitched upon *Bramton* in *Northumberland* likewise, til he had the good hap to light upon this Stone. And so much of *Bremenium*. We go forward.

## CORSTOPILUM M.P. XX.]

*Robert Talbot*, though Priest and Canon, yet scarce shewes himselfe to be *Sacerdos ad Grammaticam*, as he said, when he tells us, (c) that in this Itinerary, *ferme est perpetuum, ut nomen loci, ad quem fit motus in Dativo ponatur*. *Surita*, though a better Grammarian, as putting the name of the place, whereto motion is, in the (d) Accusative case, according to rule, not the Dative, yet therein also is he far mistaken in these writings, and others. And though he lay the fault, for that it is otherwise,

(c) *Ad Iter. II. in Brovo-nacis.*

(d) *Surita in Antonin. p. 188.*



in omnibus codicibus, upon the *inscitia librariorum*, qui in *summa earum rerum ignaratione*, *temporum vitio*, *versabantur*; yet truly therein he doth but discover his own inanimadvertency; not taking notice, that from the age *Solinus* lived in (not long after *Pliny*) and so downward, by a custome they had, they pronounced the names of Cities in the *sixt*, or *Ablative* case; that is as *Monootes*, or undeclined. Testimonies there are enough of this *Vapiscus* in the life of *Aurelian*: *Copto & Ptolemaide urbes cepit*; and *Salmasius* desires you to see what he sayes to that place. *Solinus*, though falsly corrected in vulgar Prints, otherwise then in the old written Books (a) *Ibi Olysi pone Ulyxi conditum*: where you see no *Concord*. *Fronto*, the famous Orator, in an Epistle to *Hadrian* the Emperour, cited by the Grammarians: *Durcortono Athenæ vestræ*, where you are to look for no *Apposition*. As neither in the old Book *De Colonis*, where you constantly find, *Opidum Corseolis*. *Colonia Veiis*, &c. So that good (b) *Surita* needed not so earnestly to contest, and chafe himselfe, about *Popleto flumen*, in *Antonine*. But lest my credit should not be enough (for alas what can a poor Country Schoolmaster doe?) heare him, whose authority is unquestionable, τὰ πᾶσι. (c) *Itinerarium, quod Antonini Augusti nomine publicatur*, saith *Salmasius*, sic omnia fere urbium vocabula concipiebat; quod mutatum non oportuit à doctis viris. We should then by this read here: *Bremenio Corstopile*. But all editions, and MSS. having it in the *Accusative* Case; and *Salmasius* himselfe, as you see, dispencing some-what with the generall Rule, as it ordinarily happens; take your pleasure, for me, which way you will have it written; However I must not omit to note here, that all other Editions, as many as I have seen, except that of *Aldus*, have *Corstopitum*; with little change of one letter; And *Surita* denies not but that it was so in one of his Manuscripts.

(a) *Solin. cap. De Hispania.*

(b) *Surita ad Antonin. pag. 188.*

(c) *cl. Salmas. Exercit. ad Solin. cap. 23. & ibid. pag. 777.*

By the distance, and site, it seemed to the learned *Camden* to be the same with *Ptolemies* Κούρια, *Curia*; though indeed formerly for *Corstopitum*, he had pitched upon *Morpith*. Which conjecture, as it may be countenanced perhaps by the distance from *Bremenium*, and also by a like sound of both names upon the close; yet hath it not to shew any Roman Antiquity now appearing. Be it therefore *Curia* (or rather Κούρια, as *Bertius* his *Ptolemy*;) and then it will be *Corbridge* on *Tine*, which here is laid over with a Bridge: But in *Corstopitum*, what the last syllables signifie, I am to learne; and which is worse, have none to teach me. *Henry of Huntington* calls it *Cure*; so *Antonines* *Curia* among the *Rhoeti*, is at this day called *Chur*; by the *Italians* *Coira*. *Hoveden* names it *Corobrigg*; to have recourse to whom will be worth ones pains. And yet not precisely *Corbridge* neither; but rather *Rotcheſter*, a place hard by, well furnished with



with store of Roman ruines, and rubbish; which declare what it hath been formerly; called most likely by the Saxons *Corchester*, from this *Coria*; but in proceſſe of time, as he ſaid, † *Aspera mutata est in lenem tempore longo*.

† Ovid. in Fastis  
de Lemurib. 2  
Remo.

And from the ashes and carkasse of this, had the present Towne its riſe. Beſides the termination from *Castrum*, that is, a *Garrison*; take notice, that almoſt all our great Cities, and Towns in *Britain* and elſewhere, had their beginnings from the Roman *Castra*; but were not alwaies placed in the very ſame ſite, but at ſome diſtance, though not very remote; as *S. Albane*, from *Verulamium*; and moſt others. As for the account of diſtance here *M. P. XX.*] It will be ſufficiently convenient, and ſuitable, reckon which way ſo ever you are pleaſed.

### VINDOMORAM M. P. IX.]

*Surita*, telling us he could not elſewhere find any mention concerning *Vindomora*, addes moreover, that all his written Books agreed *in hanc auſerendi caſu lectionem*; which confirms what we ſaid e'rewhile. From *Corſtopitum* to this Station are *IX.* miles ſet down: and toward *Newcaſtle*, along by the Wall, at that diſtance is ſituate, as the learned *Pausanias* of *Britain* tells us, a ſmall Village called *Walls-end*, which now ſeems to have poſſeſſion of the Room of this Station. The ſignification, ſaies he, of the old, as well as the modern name, is the ſame: for *Vindomora*, in the Provinciall Language of the Britains at that time, was nothing but *Finis Muri*, or, *The end of the Wall*. For beyond it no *Vestigia* of the *ductus*, or tract thereof appearing ever to have been there; the River *Tine*, it is to be thought, ſerved for a Rampier, or *antemurale*, to keep off the Enemy. Neither doth *Vindobala* (another ancient name of the ſame Village, and of a like compoſition, mentioned in the *Notitia Occidentis*;) ſignifie otherwiſe then ſo: Wherefore from hence (beſides that the Wall in *Salmaſius* his MS. *Aethicus* is called *Ballum Britanniae*;) we muſt take notice of that fraudulent diſtinction in the learned Preſbyter *Beda*: \* [*Murus de lapidibus*; *Vallum de cespitibus*, &c.] which ſo deceived the good man, that he beleived this Work of *Severus* (even where he relates the thing done :) to be of Turfs, in which were great ſtokes faſtened, not of Stone. But if we compare *Eutropius*, *Jerom*, *Oroſius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Aurelius Viſtors Epitome de Caſaribus*, where they uſe *Vallum*, ſpeaking of this ſtructure of *Severus*; with *Aurel. Viſtor* ſet forth by *Andrias Schottus*; and others, which have *Murus*, we ſhall certainly ſee, that they are but *Synonima* to expreſſe the ſame thing. *Spartinus*, as the place in him is rightly reſtored by the famous *Salmaſius*, hath it plaine:

\* Beda Eccleſ.  
Hiſtor. lib. I.  
cap. 5.



*Severus post Murum aut Vallum missum in Britannia:* And Bede himselfe makes mention of a Royall Towne, † *qui vocatur ad Murum, æe Pale*, as King Alfred renders it; because it was placed by Severus Wall; and at this day therefore called *Walton*. So likewise our *Antonine* reckons up among the Townes of *Pannonia prima*, or Hungary, a place called *Ad Muro*. which *Wolfanyus Lazius* takes for the same with *Murocineta* \* in *Am-  
mianus*; I beleive for no other cause, or reason.

Now, as it is needlesse to bring authority from the ancients, to prove that this structure was of stone, every one that at this day hath been in the least way an *ὀφθαλμὸς*, or eye-witnesse thereof, certainly knowing it; so shall it serve for enough to demonstrate that *Murus* and *Vallum*, signified the very same thing: contrary to what the Venerable Bede beleived and wrote; *ὅπερ ἔδει  
σιγῆαι*. And consequently, that *Vindomora*, and *Vindobala*, though somewhat differing names, do yet belong to the very same Mansion.

And for what *Camden* saies, that they were so called in the Provinciall Language of the Britains, the studious Youth is to take notice, that, as the Provinciated part of the Roman Empire was *Civitate donata*, or made free of the City; and out of them their old (a) Legions recruited, and new ones also raised, the un-reduced serving for Auxiliaries; and that by a Law of *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, thus cited by *Ulpian*. (b) *In Orbe Romano qui sunt ex Constitutione Imp. Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt*. Which (c) *Claudian* the Poet, speaking of Rome, and instancing in Britain in particular, hath neatly, as his manner is, thus expressed.

*Nec stetit Ociano, remisque ingressa profundum,  
Vincendos alio quæsit in orbe Britannos.  
Hæc est in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,  
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit;  
Matris, non domina ritu, civesque vocavit  
Quos domuit nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.*

Nor stops she there but crost the Sea with Oares,  
Britain, a new unconquer'd World, explores:  
Then in her lap receives whom she did tame,  
And to all Nations gives one common name;  
She as a Mother not a Victresse calls  
Them hers, the distant joyning to her Walls.

So likewise in the Provinces (a constant course put in practise, by what ever Conqueror, among a people newly subdued:) was the Roman tongue every where commended, and urged for publick use to the Natives: *Imperiosa illa civitas &c.*  
That

† Idem ibid. lib.  
3. cap. 21.

\* *Amm. Mar-  
cellin. lib. 30.  
edit. Linde. bro-  
giane nam in  
Rob. Stephani  
deest, cui liber  
ille est perugus.*

(a) *Hinc miles  
provincialis,  
pro legionario:  
Hygino.  
(b) Ulp. l. 22.  
ad Edictum.  
(c) Claud. Pa-  
neg. 3. in Stili-  
conem.*



That domineering City, \* sayes S. Austine, not onely put a yoke of servitude upon the conquered Nations, but injoynd their Language also. As for Britain, there is a notable place of Tacitus in his Agricola, where he speaks of the courses he took to civilize them: *Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire; & ingenia Britannorum studijs Gallorum ante ferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanorum abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent: inde etiam habitus nostri honor & frequens toga.* That is, Moreover the Noble-mens sons he took and instructed in the liberall Sciences, preferring the wits of the Britains before the Students of Gaul, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman Language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that our attire grew to be in account, and the Gown much used among them. Thus far Tacitus, and so fully, that I need not bring in hither that of Juvenall in his 15. Satyr.

\* Augustin. de C. D. lib. 19.

*Gallia Causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.*  
Eloquent Gallia Britains taught to plead.

Neither did the nobler sort onely thus liberally imploy their studies and endeavours, but the meaner also generally had their Language interpolated, and mixt with the Latine; which though now left and abandoned, yet there remain of it in the British, those reliques, that time it selfe will not easily wipe away, and deface. Of some words therein Humfrey Lhuyd, a singular Ornament of his own Wales, and Britain in generall, hath gathered a list; and William Salisbury in his British Glossary, and Doctor David Powell, in his accurate writings, by no means deny it; men as learned as any of the Nation.

*Vindobala*, as this Station was otherwise named in the *Notitia* of the W. Empire, had its being, *Sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum per lineam Valli*, where there lay in Garrison *Tribunus Cohortis primæ Frixagorum*. For whom why Camden substituted the *Cokors II. Thracum*, who are placed indeed in the same *Notitia* at *Gabrosentum*, or *Gateshead* against *Newcastle*, not quite three miles off, I know not; except I say it is a light *παρόραμα*, or oversight of his, such as may well be excused. But of what people these here were, I must take day to tell you: Neither name of the Station hath had the luck, to have the right site found out, till Camden came. For Talbot making it his businesse to illustrate *Antonine*, being come to *Vindomora*, he sends us to *Vandunara* in Scotland, meerly for some very small consonancy in the names: though truly he confesses upon lesse extravagant thoughts, that so we take the wrong way. *Pancirolos* upon the *Notitia* would have *Vindobala* to be the same with *Vindogladia* in *Antonine*, placed Westward in the Island far away, whereas this is *per lineam Valli* in the North:

Quand' S'aga  
Ptolem.

or



or else, which is as bad, he tells us that some read it *Vindolana*, which indeed followes after in this very *Notitia*, and is a distinct Mansion, where the Tribune of the IV. Cohort of the Gaules resided. Now what should be said of them both, but what I remember *Ortelius* saies of one in a like case? *Non toto tantum cælo, sed & terra quoque errarunt*. The next Station is *Vinnovia*.

## VINNOVIA M. M. P. XIX.]

Bishoprick of  
Durham.

It is not easily to be said, whether the ignorance of Monkes, and other such *Librarii*, or Transcribers; or the heedlessnesse of the Composers for the Print, hath caused more foule faults, and errors, in old Writers. Of the oscitancy of both, this work in our hands, if any other, will give sufficient evidence. And particularly the name of this Mansion; which *Simler's* Copy had written *Viconia*. *Surita's* written Books, had *Vinovia* and *Vinnovia*; as it should be. *Lhuyd*, or his Printer, for *Vinnovium* in *Ptolemy*, published *Bimonium*, and *Binionium*: from whence *Alex. Nevill* a deale worse *Bynionum*. *Camden*, *Binovia*; and our *Speed*, *Benovium*. The School-boys know, that V. consonant, β. and ς. are *fororia literæ*, and of a neere sound: and what to *Ptolemy* is *Αλβίων*, is to other Writers *Αλβίων*, *Albion* and *Δαβίδ*, is *Δαουίδ*, otherwise spelt. What then in *Ptolemy* is *Οὐιννοβίου*, *Antonine* expresse *Vinnovia*. As for the difference in Gender, we are to note, that the Ancients pleased themselves in dealing licentiously therein, yea, and in number two: so, *Luguvallum* and *Luguballia*; *Tyana*, *Tyana*, for *τὰ Τύανα τὰ Λέγδρα*, *va*, for *Lugdunum*; *Megara*, *Megara*, for *τὰ Μέγαρα*. And here we have *mutuum muli*. For as the right reading, which had been corrupted into *Viconia*, is restored and asserted to *Antonine* by *Ptolemy*: so from *Antonine* is the right posture of the Station recovered in *Ptolemy*, who makes it to be *πόλις Βριγάντων*, a City of the *Brigantes*. For in him, saith *Camden*, it is so shov'd out of its place, that it had allwayes lain obscure, and undiscovered, except the other had pointed it out. By this direction then it seems *Humfrey Lhuyd* first found it in the Bishoprick of *Durham* (a part of the *Brigantes*) upon the brow of a Hill, which over-looks the *Were*, not far from *Bishops-Auckland*, which stands on the other side of it; and now, from the old name of it, is called *Binchester*; In comparison of its former celebrity, at this time it scarce deserves the name of a petty Village: yet great store of rubbish of the old Buildings, and some remainder of the Walls yet to be seen. So true is that of *Mercury*, to old *Charon* in *Lucian*: \* *Αποθήσκει γὰρ, ὃ πορθμεῦ, καὶ πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι*. I tell thee, *Ferriman*, that Cities dye as well as men. And what appeares of it at this day, being but what is left of a City

\* *Lucian. Dialogo ἑστιονῶν πομπῆς.*



City, *plus quam mortua*, as *Camden* sayes, it was most freindly done of him, to gather, as it used to be done in the (a) *Offi-*  
*legia* of the Ancients after the funerall fire, the scattered bones, as it were, and reliques of its former glory. Of his rescuing therefore from Oblivion, and not falling into the same grave, which hath quite overwhelmed the City it selfe, are these In-  
 scriptions Arguments of its out-worne splendor, and mag-  
 nificence.

(a) *Adi sis*  
*Desc. Heraldum*  
*Adversar. lib.*  
*I. cap. 7.*

DE ABUS  
 MATRIB. Q. LO--  
 CL. QUIN-  
 TIANUS---COS.  
 V. S. L. M.

This first was reared up by *Claudius Quintianus*, Consull under *Maximinus* the Emperour, about the year CCXXXVI. according to *Cassiodorus*, upon performance of his Vow made to the Mother-Goddeses. But in the *Fasti Consulares*, more commonly received, and esteemed; with *L. Catilius Severus*, you have the name of *L. Rangorius Urinatus* inscribed before that yeare. And I cannot say that all these names belonged to one man.

Besides this Stone, and another, the fairest and greatest Altar that hath been digged up in *Britain*, found out at *Coccium*, or *Rible-chester*, in *Lancashire*, there is none else extant, among the Volumes of Incriptions gathered through the whole World, that mentions these Goddeses, so far as I remember, saith learned *Camden*. But since his time, this age, so curious after the inquiry of the defaced steps of Antiquity, we meet with divers. This other stone was set up by *M. Ingenuus Asiatius*, a *Decurio* of a wing of the *Astures*, a people of *Spain* residing here in the Roman service, and dedicated DE IS MATRIBUS, somewhat differently; of which I can onely observe this, That the more ancient used *abus*, in Ablatives and Datives plurall, rather than *is*: not onely to distinguish the female sex; but in other words also signifying no sex at all: as, *portabus, olabus, &c.* in *Salust*, and others, affecters of archaismes, and taken notice of for it by the ancient Grammarians, to whom, if you please, you may have recourse. *Joseph Scaliger* indeed upon *Varro* quite contrary makes *Dijs, pro Deabus*, and *equis pro equabus*, an archaism. See also in COCCIUM in the X. Journey.

\* *Apud Grater*  
 & *Smecium.*

Industrious *Camden* tells us, that with all his searching he could not find out, what these *Deæ Matres* were. However he cites a place out of † *Plutarch* very much for their antiquity, which would not be omitted here: *There is*, saith he, a City

† *Plut. in vita*  
*Marcelli.*



in Cicilie called Engyium ; it is no great thing, but a very ancient City of name, by reason of the traffick thither, for that there are certain Goddesses to be seen, whom they worship, called the \* Mothers. Some say the Cretans were the first Builders and founders of the Temple there, where you shall see Speares and Helmets of Copper, and upon them are graven the name of Meriones : (He meanes the associate of Idomeneus, the King of Creet in Homer. Camden, and his Translator also, hath Metio ; but amisse : I beleive by the Printers fault :) and upon others Ulysses name also, which are consecrated to these Goddesses. Varro also hath made mention of some such Deities, as I find by a place of his urged by (a) Augustine: *Dij quibusdam patribus, & Deabus Matribus, sicut hominibus, ignobilitatem contigisse.* If it were worth my while to conjecture, and without the offence of the severe ones, I should easily guesse them to be the three famous Goddesses, highly worshiped by the Romans ; yet deduced from ancient originall among the Grecians ; *Vesta, Matuta, and Tellus* : among whose *indigitamenta*, or severall names and appellations, you shall frequently find *Mater* or *Mother*. And therefore it is likely that they may be *συνβομοὶ θεῶν* at least ; that is, worshiped upon the same Altar, and in some respects the very same Goddesses. For *Vesta*, (b) Cicero is my Author ; *Vestæque Matris ceremonijs.* And Virgill ;

(c) *Dij Patrij Indigites, & Romule vestæque Mater.*  
Our Countrys Gods, *Vesta* and *Romulus*.

She is of that antiquity, that the (d) God of Poets makes her the Daughter of Saturne, the Father of the Gods. As for *Matuta*, besides (e) Livies testimony, which were enough to prove her called *Mother*, I might add out of Verrius Flaccus, that her name is to be derived no way better, then from *Mater*. *Matuta*, sayes he, *potius a Matre, quæ est originis Græcæ.* He meanes *μήτηρ*, or as the Dorics pronounced it *μάτηρ*. And for *Tellus Mater*, it were pütid to heap Testimonies for it hither. Who knows not Homers *μήτέρα θεῶν*, or his *γαῖαν παμμότερειαν* ; The Mother of Gods, or Earth, Mother of all ; or that *Vesta* and *Mater Tellus* were the same Deity ; as Plutarch, Ovid, and others say. Now having thought thus much long ago, meerly by way of conjecture ; and making farther enquiry, whether *Stata Mater*, whom I found mentioned by Festus Pompeius, and whose Image he sayes was worshipped in Foro, were not the same Deity with *Mater Deum*, or *Mater Tellus* (as most probably it is) I luckily, after some good space of time, resumng into my hand the so much admired *Syntagmata de diis Syriis*, of M. Selden, that incomparable M. Selden I say (who was to borrow Ennius his words,

Mularum

Θεαὶ γυναι-  
κῶδες,  
apud Pansaniam  
in Atticis, idem  
sonare possunt.

(a) August. de  
C. D. lib. 7.  
cap. 3.

(b) Cic. Orat.  
30. Arusp. Re-  
spons.

(c) Virg. Georg.  
lib. 1.

(d) Homer. in  
Hymnis.

(e) T. Liv. lib.  
5. 24, 25.



*Multarum veterum Legum, Divumque Hominumque  
Prudens*——

There many ancient Lawes of Gods and men  
Well understood——

If any one man ever were: I found out of \* *Apuleius*, that \* *Apul. Metam.*  
*Deum Mater*, called also *Tellus Mater*, was the same with *Astarte*, lib. 8.  
or *Dea Syria*: and withall satisfaction sufficient for any man,  
concerning these *Deæ Matres* from so learned a Pen, that to  
what I have blotted the paper with, thou maist, favourable  
Reader, use thy *spongia deletilis*, if by chance thou so pleasest.

But let us heare himselfe, who in all doubts is our *Apollo A-*  
*perta*: (e) “ In Britain also, sayes he, there is an inscription, now  
shattered indeed, dedicated to the *DEA SYRIA*, or (e) *Selden. de*  
“ Syrian Goddesse by *Licinius* a Commander under *Anto-* *Diis Syris Syn-*  
“ *ninus* the Philosopher, extant at this day in Sir *Thomas Cot-* *tagm. 2. cap. 2.*  
“ *tons* Gardens at *Connington* in *Huntingtonshire*. I am not igno-  
“ rant that the Mother of the Gods was called also *Terra* by  
“ the Ancients: So *Lucretius* in his second Book explaines the  
“ matter: And there is no body but knows that Heaven and  
“ Earth were wont to be confounded by the worshipers of  
“ Idolls. Seing therefore *Astarte* or the Syrian Goddesse, was  
“ the same who at first was the *Mother of the Gods*, but after-  
“ wards called by many names; from hence perhaps may con-  
“ jecture be made, who those *Mother Goddeses* were mentioned  
“ in old Altars, never taken notice of untill this age. For as  
“ many names as there were, so many Goddeses were there  
“ accounted to be; so many Mothers. Then instancing in  
those two places, brought before out of *Plutarch* and *Pausanias*,  
and taking notice how this age, inquisitive after the remain-  
ders of Antiquity; hath found out in *Europe* many Altars so  
inscribed, as also others to the *Junones*, all to be seen in *Gruter*  
and *Smetius*; and mentioning these two already spoken of at  
*Riblechester*, and here at *Pinnovia*, or *Binchester*, he brings us a  
third taken up likewise in *Britain*, and communicated unto  
him long since by *M. Camden*.

DEABUS MATRIBUS.

TRAMAI VEX CERMA, &c.

It is to be seen at *Louth* in *Cumberland*. What *TRAMAI*  
“ means, sayes he, I dare not once to guesse: But now if *A-*  
“ *starte* were the *Deum Mater*, it doth needs follow that the  
“ *Astarte* were the *Deæ Matres*; for so were they called in the  
“ Plurall number, *Astarte*: even as there were many *Junos*,  
“ many *Venus's*, many *Syrian Goddeses*, by the reason of the  
K multitude



(f) Augustin.  
ad Iudic. II.  
quest. 16.

" multitude of their Images. So also there were many *Astarte* ;  
" which perhaps they meant, who observing as well the Asia-  
" tick, as their own Countrey Rites, did dedicate Altars to the  
" Mother Goddesses ; at least it is very likely so. S. *Augustin* indeed  
bath sayd almost as much in this that follows : (f) *Juno* with-  
out doubt is called by them ( the Pæni ) *Astarte* : And because those  
Dialects ( the Punic, and Phænician ) do not much differ, the  
Scripture is not amisse beleev'd to speak this of the people of Israel,  
that they served Baal & Astartibus, quia Jovi & Junonibus. Nei-  
ther ought it to move you, that he sayd not *Astarti*, that is *Junoni* :  
but as if there were many *Juno*'s, he put this name in the Plurall  
number : For he would have the understanding refer'd to the multi-  
tude of their Images, because every Image of *Juno* was call'd *Juno*,  
and hereby he would have so many *Juno*'s understood as there were  
Images of her. So farr the all-knowing *Selden*. But of this more  
then too much. For the wise men of the age will laugh broad  
at these nice and fruitlesse enquiries, and I am loath to offend :  
Things, things ! say they ; not words, *Ὅταν τοῖς δὲν νοσησῶντας*.  
The other Inscription taken up at *Binchester* is this ; but thus  
by time shattered and broken,

*Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas :*

So much doth time alter the state of things.

TRIB. COHOR. I.  
CARTOV ---  
MARTI VICTORI.  
GENIO LOCI.  
ET BONO.  
EVENTUI.

(h) Serv. in  
Æn. lib. I.

The name of the Tribune of the first Cohort of the *Cartovii*,  
who erected this, is quite lost : And so might well the name  
of the people be too, except we had better information and  
intelligence concerning them, out of Geography or History.  
The Dedication was made to *Mars the Conqueror* ; every one  
knows him : next to him to the *Genius* or Tutelar Spirit of the  
Place, of whom a word. *Servius* the learnedst Grammarian of  
the Ancients, interpreting (h) *Virgil* : *Genium dicebant anti-*  
*qui, naturalem Deum uniuscujusque loci, aut hominis*. The one is  
that *Genius*, which being born with every man, still waits upon  
him, either for his good or ill Fortune ; and of this *Menander* the  
Comick in these two Senaries, as they are cited by (i) *Ammianus*.

(i) Amm. Mar-  
cell. Hist. lib. 21.  
Vide Clem. Alex.  
Strom. lib. 5.  
Euseb. de  
Preparat E-  
vangelica, &c.

*Ἄνθρωπον δὲ καὶ πᾶσι ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται*

*Εὐδὺς ἡσυχίᾳ, μετὰ τὸν τῷ βίῳ.*

Each man his *Genius* protects,  
And in all Affaires directs.

Or



Or for his *hurt*, say others; and hence is that expression, *Male advocatus Genius*. *Pomp. Festus*, the Abbreviator of *Verrius Flaccus* speaks generally, *Genium appellabant Deum, qui vim obtineret rerum omnium gerendarum*, where you may better read *gignendarum*; as I see *S. Austin* did of old; or else *genendarum* out of: *Censorinus*. the Verb of which Participle is to be restored to *Lucretius* in these Verses.

*Nobis est ratio solis, lunæque meatus,  
Qua fiant ratione, & qua vi quæque gerantur.*

*Lucret. de Nat.  
rerum lib. 1.*

Reasons there are, how the illustrious Sun  
And Moon, their courses through the Zodiac run.

Before it was likewise read amisse -- *quæque gerantur*: See (k) *Censorinus De die Natali*. And if you be further curious, consult the severall old Interpreters upon that in the Acts (l) *It is his Angel*. But that which we shallest meet with here is the *Genius* of any Place or City. *Festus*, *Alii Genium esse putarunt uniuscujusque loci Deum*. Hence it is that in (m) *Arnobius* we read, *Civitatum Genios*. They also bestowed names on them. And of this kinde are those they called *Dii Topici*; Such as were here in Britain, *Deus Viterineus*, *Deus Moguntis*, *Deus Mounus*. *Dui Civitatis Brigantum*. *Camulus Deus Sanctus*. *Gadunus*, &c. which we find in the Inscriptions taken up here. Such was *Besa* in *Ammianus*: (n) *Opidum est Abydum in Thebaidis parte sitam extrema; hic Besæ dei localiter appellati oraculum quondam futura pandebat, priscis circumjacentium regionum ceremoniis solitum coli*. It will be worth your while to have recourse to that excellent Schollar *Peter Pitbon*, in his (o) *Adversaria*, concerning the interpretation of this place. The Image of the *Genius* was sometime exhibited by a Boyes visage; most commonly by a Serpent; and that for some mystery, not here to be discoursed of. When any City was besieged, the enemies that lay against it, used to call forth the Gods or *Genii* thereof; which if it were to be taken, straightway issued forth: of which see (p) *Macrobius* out of others. In short, they that worshiped according to Pagan superstition, thought that as men had soules given them, when they were born, so Nations and Cities had their *Genii* bestowed on them when built. And thus thought *Symmachus* a Heathen, and a man of great esteem with the Emperours of his time: (q) *Suus cuique mos, suus cuique ritus est, varios custodes Urbibus cunctis mens divina distribuit, ut animæ nascentibus, ita populis fatales Genii dividuntur. Et obsessis Hierosolymis audita vox est, numen urbis alio migrare, id est, Genium*. But this opinion of his is stoutly impugned by *Prudentius* a Christian Poet, whose brave Verses I cannot but set down, and then I will beg pardon for my being troublesome.

(k) *Censorin.  
cap. 3.*

(l) *Act. 12. 15.*

(m) *Arnob.  
lib. 1.*

(n) *Ammian.  
lib. 19.*

(o) *P. Pitbon.  
Advers. lib. 1.  
cap. 2.*

(p) *Macr. Sat.  
lib. 3. cap. 9.*

(q) *Q. Symma.  
in Relat. ad  
A.A.A. pro re-  
staur. Gentil.  
deorum cultus*



*Romam dico viros, quos mentem credimus Urbis,  
Non Genium, cuius frustra simulatur imago.  
Quamquam cur Genium Roma mihi fingitis unum?  
Quam portis, domibus, thermis, stabulis soleatis  
Adsignare suos Genios, perque omnia membra  
Urbis, perque locos Geniorum millia multa  
Fingere, ne propria vacet angulus ullus ab umbra.*

That Rome a Genius hath we do maintain,  
Nor stands its Statue there set up in vain.  
Why do you think her Walls one Genius hath?  
When every Portall, Stable, House and Bath,  
Their Guardians have; Her Alleys, Streets, and Rodes,  
Deities boast, and many thousand Gods.  
No Nook nor Hole, wants a peculiar soule.

Next to the *Genius* of the place, *Bonus eventus*, or happy successe, is here invocated by the Tribune: For the Ancients worshipped this Deity (so infinite was their πολυθεία πλάνη) among others which were not Gods, but the fond conceits of their own distempered brains, and lesse beneficiall and usefull then Stocks and Stones, Gods the works of mens hands. However they worshiped them, which *Varro* witnesses, (g) *Nec non etiam precor Bonum Eventum; quoniam sine successu & Bono eventu frustratio est, non cultura.* The Image of it (h) *Pliny* hath set down: *Simulacrum Boni eventus dextra pateram, sinistra spicam & papaver tenens.* Neither do the *Coynes* describe it otherwise; in that of *Titus* it hath in the right hand a Charger or broad peice, in the left it holds some Popy onely, with *Bonus Eventus Augusti*. In that of *Severus* it stands robed, with corne in the Charger; Popy and an eare of corne in the left, according to *Pliny*. Whether it were the same with *Fatum Bonum* in a like inscription found at OLENACUM, or Elenborough in Cumberland, I will leave to the Reader to bethinke him, till I shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere. If in the meane while I have been somewhat tedious to you, this saying will in some part excuse me: (i) *Primus sapientiæ gradus est, falsa intelligere.*

I have sayd nothing at all of the distance of the places, for it was not needfull; onely this I may not omit, that there is a world of Roman Coyne taken up in this place, which the neighbouring people of the Countrey call BINCHESTER PENNIES.

CATARACTONIUM. M. P. XXII.]

So the best Copies. The Neapolitan had *Catorasterium*. Others



thers *Cataractone*, and *Cartoni*, abbreviatum pro *Cataractonio*, saith Talbot. Besides *Antonine*, *Ptolemie* also mentions it in the second Book of his *Géography*, among the Cities of the *Fringantes*, calling it *Καταράκτωνιον*, *Cataractonium*; and elsewhere in the same Work; (a) Τὸ δὲ Καταράκτωνιον ἔχει μάλιστα ἡμέραν ὅρων ἢ καὶ δέσμιον Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς δύσιν ὥστε 6. γ. *Cataractonium maximum diem habet horarum XVIII. & distat ab Alexandria versus occasum horis II. & triente*. From this place of *Ptolemie*, as also another in his (b) *Great Construction* (the *Arabians* call it *Almagest*, from their Particle *Al*, and μέγιστος, for it is μέγιστη περὶ γυμνασίου, or σύνταξις and so do they also compose with it many other words from the (c) *Greek* (as *Alchymy*, *Alembik*, *Almanak*; &c.) we may easily guess the celebrity and fame of this place in elder times. There he takes an observation of the positure of the Heavens, setting downe, or describing the XXIV. through *Cataractonium* in our Britain, and making it distant from the *Aquator* LVII. Degrees. But whether this place may not receive light and correction, from that we brought before out of his *Geography*, as hath been formerly hinted by our learned *Antiquaries* let them look to it whom it more concerns. The place it selfe I would have transcribed hither for the *Readers* better satisfaction, but the Book at this time is not in my hands.

(a) *Ptolem. Geograph. lib. 8.*

(b) *Ptol. in Almagest. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

(c) *Adi Scal. in Virgil. Culicem, ad Propert. lib. 3. Eleg. 20.*

The next time you find it, is not till *Venerable Beda*, in whom it is called *Vicus Cataracton*, and *Vicus juxta Cataractam*. In the (d) one place he tells us that *Wilpapes-dun* was neer ten miles distant from it, the site of which place if we did now know, we should have little cause to doubt of *Cataractonium*: *Remisit ergo [Rex Oswinus] exercitum. quem congregaverat, ac singulos domum redire præcepit à loco, qui vocatur Wilfares-Dun, id est, Mons Wilfari; & est à vico Conteractone decens ferme milia passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus*. In the other place it is expressed by a *Periphrase*; *The Village by the Cataract or Waterfall*: His words are these, where he tells, *Paulinus* flying out of these parts, was by King *Edbald* welcomed into Kent with the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*: (e) *Reliquerat autem in Ecclesia sua Eboraci Jacobum Diaconum, virum utique Ecclesiasticum & Sanctum, qui multo ex hinc tempore in Ecclesia manens, magnas antiquo hosti prædas docendo & baptizando eripuit. Cujus nomine vicus in quo maxime solebat habitare juxta Cataractam usque hodie cognominatur*. I would I understood this place better, but however our great *Antiquary* tells us, the place hath its name from a *Cataract*, i. e. a *Waterfall*; and that (letting us know first that by this Station, as we shall see anon, *Catarick* upon the *Swale* is meant) there is such a one somewhat higher in the River toward *Richmond*; which doth there, to use his owne words, rather *ruere* then *fluere*, rush down

(d) *Beda Ecclesiæ Histor. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

(e) *Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20.*



down violently, then run. Which if so, the reading methinks [Καταρακτόνιον] might have been righter in *Ptolemie*; none knowing better then he, what the meaning of the word was.

In *Matthew* of Westminster it is named *Civitas Cataracta*; where he sayes it was burned by *Beornred* the Tyrant-King of the Mercians, who afterward perished in the same manner by a just talio, Anno gratiæ, DCCLXIX. *Cataracta civitas igne cremata est à Beornredo tyranno rege Merciorum deposito. Sed ipse infelix eodem anno, justo dei judicio, incendio periit.* But it revived again out of its embers, as I could shew; but that it is my maine undertaking to illustrate, especially, the Roman times.

It hath been the study and trouble of learned Men, forren and domestic, in the last Age, as well as this of ours, so busie in new enquiries, to designe and set out the place where anciently it stood; but the greater part are quite wide of it. *Paulus Jovius* makes it to be *Allerton*, not much wide I confesse in this: but how far his fashion is otherwise to be out in the ancient Chorography of this Nation, makes me think of the witty, though sharp, censure of the Author of *Amadis de Gaul*, which I am sure I met with when I was a Boy, concerning his other Writings; though the World took his Romances, as indeed they are, to be but the fictions of his own braine, yet he doubted not but with after Ages they would finde as much credit, as his Histories of his owne Times. *Michael Villanovanus* thinks it was *Carlile*; which, whether he had from *Jos. Moletius*, who hath so set it down to his *Ptolemie*, I know not. Yet every one knows that *Carlile* was *Antonines Luguvallum*, or *Luguballia*. But the vanity, not to say imposture, of *Hector Boetius* the Scottish Historian (and he hath his followers) is notorious and shamelesse, who with I know not what Helktique Instruments (unknown I beleieve, to *Vitruvius* or our late famous Architect *Inigo Jones*) have removed *Cataractonium* out of Yorkshire, many scores of miles Northward, as far as the Baillery of *Corick* in Scotland: *Carietonium* (for by that he means this very place, or else just nothing) *opidum in Carietia, vulgo Carik regione, cujus pauca vestigia restant: olim Scotorum regia fuit*; and he tells us moreover, that it was called *Caractonium*, because *Caractacus* [gaza, & thesaurus] wealth and treasure was kept there; who indeed never came neerer it then the *Brigantes*; (f) when being treacherously used by *Cartismandua* their Queen, on whose protection he had thrown himselfe after a long resistance of the Roman power, to gaine favour and defence for her shamelesse Adultery, was by her more shamefully delivered up to them. (g) *Polydor Virgil*, *Boetius* his Schollar, with more shew of truth, as one who had read *Tacitus* with more diligence, brings it rather from *Carietia* the

(f) *Tacit. Annal. 12. & Hist. lib. 3.*

(g) *Polyd. Hist. Ang. lib. 1.*



the Region, in which, say they, sometime it stood. There are who would tolerate this device of *Boethius* in a Poet, but in an Historian (and thought no mean one abroad) who can excuse it; except you mean by an Historian one utterly unskild in Geography? But wonder not at him. *Solens facile*; for he hath with the same sleight brought *Camalodunum*, the famous Colony sometime at *Maldon* in Essex, as farr as the Banks of *Carron* in Galloway, where likewise it is *Pictorum Regia*, and hath its *quædam vestigia* too. So hath he drawn the *Ordovices* out of Wales, and placed them in his own Countrey, where the old Annals forsooth call them *Ordaci*. But I have onely this to say of him, Had not his Countrey-man *Tho. Dempster* a *Murisk* written the Scottish History after him, he had been the lyingest Historian that I knew of in the World. \* He outgoes him, and is indeed *ὄν ἐτ' ἀνερὸς*. *Raph Hollinshed* conceited it to be *Darlington*. I have not ought to say to *Cryton*, or *Cryton-bridge* noted to *Cataraetonium* in *Antonine* by the Learned *Fulke*: But to the same Station in *Ptolemie* he had set downe *Catarick-bridge*. Very right; for so thought *Talbot* before him; and after him the learned *Camden*. The name it selfe sayes as much, and its Site upon the Military way, which here leads over the River, where it divides it selfe. If the distance from *Binchester* hither, seem not to agree with the number here, then think that the Italian miles used in *Antonine*, are a great deale shorter then the Northerne with their Wey-bits; and that they took the Street way then, not the shortest cut they might, as we do at this day.

\* vide frequen-  
tes de Dempstero  
censuras apud  
Reverendiss. D.  
Usserium in Pri-  
mord. Eccles.  
Britan. passim.

Of this difference in wayes, observed by the Romans, I could give divers instances: and hence it is, that (b) *Julian* the Emperor opposes *ἀτραπὴς*, or compendious wayes, to public Roads, raised and layd with Causes by the labour of the Souldiers.

(h) *Julian. Cæs.  
Orat. 6.  
ἢ τὰς πα-  
τείαις χι-  
δαί λεωφό-  
ροις, ἢ τὰς ἀ-  
τραπὴς καὶ  
χωτύμοις ὁ-  
δοῖς.*

I might add for the great antiquity of this place, which *Camden* doth observe, what a world of Rubbish is to be seen every where about in the Countrey neer: Besides more Eastward hard by the River, a mighty Mount, and four Bulwarks, raised as it were with exceeding great labour, up to a great height: But now it is *viculus pertenuis*, a very poor Countrey Village; and as famous as it was of old times, we may at this day seek it in its ruines, and scarce, or not at all, find it. I have done with it therefore, and will shut up all in the words of the Psalmist, *Come, sayes he, behold the works of the Lord; what desolations he hath made in the Earth.* Thus much shall be sayd of *Cataraetonium*.

Psalm. 46. 8.

ISURIUM. M. P. XXIV.]

The distance between *Catarick* and *Aldburgh* (which is put for



for *Ifurium*) will well agree with the number XXIV. here between that, and *Cataractonium*, if you doe but remember and observe, what I said e're now concerning the distances of old times, and those at this day; Taking notice also of the course they then took in their journeying; which quite thorough this Itinerary is to be heeded. In the 11. Journey, this Station is called *Ifuria*: and in the fifth *Ifubrigantum*, that is, *Ifurium Brigantum*: for *Ptolemie* also makes *Ιούριον* to be one of the Cities of the *Brigantes*. They say \* it had its name from the Confluence of the *Isis*, and the *Urus*; a little above which it stood, not far from *Burrowbridge*, a place very famous of later ages: but of old for three Roman Trophees, set up not far from thence like Pyramids, (a) saith *Leland*, a little from the High-way. The Saxons called them, both met together, by one name the *Ouse*, or *Uyan*.

That the old Britains had knowledge of *Isis*, not onely as acquainted with the Romans worshipping her, but otherwise also by their bearing armes for them in *Egypt*, where she was most adored, is to be made good by clear record: The *Notitia* of the Provinces of the East. *Sub dispositione viri Spectabilis ducis Thebaidos Ala quarta Briconum Isui*. In the Itinerary it is *Isu*. Both places are to be mended *Isij* out of *Plutarch*; in whom, as also in (c) *Heliodorus* you have *Ἰσην*, signifying the City, and Temple of *Isis*, of which *Stephanus* *πρὶς πλ.* witnesses, you have such large circuits of her Travellers in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that it were no more wonder to hear of her name in these Northern Climates, then in *Egypt*. Hence it is sayd the (d) *Suides*, and *Angles*, and *Endoses*, and other Germans in old time worshipped her. *Tacitus* particularly of the Swedes. (e) *Isidi* sacrificant, &c. What reason they have to use that strange Sacrifice I know not saith he; unlesse it be that the Image of that Goddesse, being fashioned [in modum liburnæ] in forme of a kinde of Boat, doth declare that their Religion hath been brought them from a strange Countrey. And therefore we wonder not now, that we have (f) three noted Rivers of her name among us. For by the testimony of † *Pausanias*, and an old Coyn published by (g) *Golizius*, she hath also the Title of *Πελαγία*, or *Isis of the Sea*. And truely the indigitaments of old Deities were often inscribed to Rivers; as \* *Belisama*, a name of *Minerva*, to the River *Rible* in Lancashire, and others: as the names of Saints are usually to divers places abroad at this day. Now whereas they say the *Egyptians* alwayes fashioned and Painted *Isis* with (h) *hornes*, some may conceit that done, because her name is attributed to Rivers; all Rivers being described horned by the Poets; I, and some called (i) *Hornes*, by reason of the windings of their Channels. But the Fable affords a better reason, which tells us *Jo* (that is *Isis*) the Daughter

\* Guil. Harrison  
Descrip. Brit.  
lib. 1. cap. 11.

(a) Io. Leland.  
Syllab. Antiq.  
Dist. ad Geneithl.  
Edvardi Princ.  
(b) Plutarch. lib.  
de Isid. & Osi-  
ride.

(c) Hesiod. Æ-  
thiop. Hist. lib. 7.

(d) Suevi olim  
& Angli, Eu-  
doses, Northuini  
Iidem colue-  
runt, &c.

Iac. Middelendorp.  
de Academ. 1. 2.

(e) Tacit. de Mo-  
rib. German.

(f) Io. Leland. ad  
Cygn. Cantio-  
nem.

† Pausan.

(g) Hub. Goltz.  
Thesaur. rei  
Antiquar.

\* Ad. Selden.

τὸν πόντον  
Syntagm. 2. de  
Diis Syr. cap. 1.

(h) Βέλγεων  
Ælian. ὑπὲρ  
ζώων, lib. 10.

cap. 47. Οἱ  
πόταμοι τὰν  
εἰσφάντοι διετο-

πεντο. Ad.  
Scholiast. in  
Sophoclis A-  
jacem.

(i) Apollon.  
Rhod. de Istr.

\* Εστὶ δὲ τὸς πο-  
ταμούς· ἡ αὐτὴν  
μῆκος ἐκεί-  
νοιο.

(k) Απὸ τῆς  
καὶ τὰ ῥέεθρα  
καρπύων ἄς κα-

λῶσι κίερα, τε,  
Strabo. l. 10.



Daughter of the river *Inachus*, was by *Jupiter* turned into a Cow; and so conveyed into *Ægypt*, where, it should seem, she and *Apis* were horned Deities.

But truly I must tell you, I had rather have met with one antient authority out of *Ptolemie* or some other of old time, whereby I might be assured these rivers were so called sometimes by the *Romans*, then all that either *Leland* or *Camden* have wittily said: for *Leland* seems to me, one who had rather devise handsome names himself for any place, then diligently tread the very and certain steps of Antiquity.

The Town out of its ruins is, as I said, called *Aldburgh*; the name signifying, *The old Borough, or Town*. On the very ground, where *Isurium* sometime stood, you may at this time see, either cornfields, or pasture: (l) *Et campos ubi Troja fuit*. (m) *Laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus*; says the elegant Historian, concerning the old *Veii*. And our Antiquary saies, that such Writers, as mention *Isurium*, would have much ado to make us believe it had once a being here, were it not for the proportionable distance from *York*, here set down; and the great store of *Roman* coin found daily hereabout.

(l) *Virg. Aen. lib. 3.*

(m) *L. Flor. de gest. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

EBORACUM LEGIO SEXTA  
VICTRIX. M. P. XVII.]

The distance here from *Aldburgh* to *York* is various, according to the variety of Copies, and the severall journeys in which we meet with it. In the first journey you have seventeen miles; in some books sixteen; in the second, eighteen, and in this fourteen, according to *Strita*; but in his divers readings, he takes notice of seventeen also: which *Aldus*, *Simlerus*, and *Harrison* admit; and this will make the generall number in the foot of the reckoning, to agree with the particulars, as is before observed. Neither will the distance at this day unhandsomely sute; if you conceive, as you must, that the antient site is somewhat altered.

The first mention you meet with of this place, is this in *Antonine*, except you make *Ptolemie* antienter, as indeed he should be, if it be true that he wrote in *Antoninus Pius* dayes, as the common Chronologie gives it out. Truly, as it is already observed, the time when this *Itinerarie* was published, though commonly it bears *Antoninus Pius* name, is not certain: neither is it likely it was extant till under *Severus*: For *Britain* indeed, being by *Julius Agricola*, the Pro-Pretor under *Domitian*, (a) wholly reduced, and falling away by little and little under *Hadrian*, the *Antonini*, and *Commodus*; so that in (b) *Hadrian's* time, who \* in person did what he could to restore all, the *Romanes* having not much (c) above one half thereof, and that not very

(a) *Tacitus in vita.*

(b) *Britanni teneri sub ditione Romana non poterant.*

*H. Spartian. ut in Hadriano.*

\* *Spartian. ib.*

(c) *Appian. in Proem. Histor. qui eo seculo vixit.*

L

usefull,



(q) Pausanias.  
in Arcadicis.

usefull, or beneficiall to them, and in *Antoninus Pius* time the (d) *Brigantes*, of whom *Eboracum* was a principall city, revolting from them; things, me thinks, could not be at this passe, as they are represented in this *Itinerary*, till *Severus* time: especially if you consider the stirs and turmoiles at home for the Empire, immediately before his arrivall here: the *Britains* from thence taking ground for their defection.

(e) Io. Novio-  
mag. Colonie  
An. 1540.  
& aliis.

\* Illud dubi-  
um apud Ptol.  
an illud, Legio  
VI. Nicephor.  
&c. Rob. Tal-  
bot. Annot. in  
Antoninum  
MS.

(f) De qua Ta-  
citus Anna. 14.

But omitting here a more exact enquiry after the just time when either of them wrote; we are to take notice, that the VI. *Legion* that had the Title of *Viatrix* from it's conquests, brought over out of *Germany*, saith *Camden* (and yet for all *Severus* coin, which follows, he dare not assure it, by reason of this former mention of it, as he saies, in *Ptolemie*) by *Severus*, had it's residence at *Eboracum*. It is plain in *Antonine*, as well as *Ptolemie* too. But in *Ptolemie* then you must recover him from a violent luxation, (which he suffers in some common (e) Editions, where *καμολόδουνον* *Camalodunum*, which should come after, is interposed, between *Εβόρακον*, and *λεγιών 5. νικηφόρος*, *Legio VI. Vict.* which number also *Z.* as *Surita* mis-cites him, is to be corrected: But *Talbot* \* using a right Copy, of *Ptolemy*, as it appears he did, I wonder how he could make any question here about it.

There are many such in *Ptolemie*: as where *Ἰττιον* is turned out of it's place; and *Λονδίνιον*, or *London* made a City of the *Cantii*, and others. But far worse are they out, who from abused Copies, would have that *Δεγ. 5. νικηφ.* as the all learned *Selden* hath taken notice; to belong to *Camalodunum*, next to *Eboracum* (of which see more in *CAMBODUNUM* in the II. Journey:) and it to be the (f) Colony placed by *Claudius* the Emperor so long before in *Essex*, and so far away short of *Eboracum*: contrary to the evident testimony of a Coin of *Severus* in the averse of which we read:

#### COL. EBORACUM. LEG. VI. VICTRIX.

Of nine Cities of the *Brigantes*, named by *Ptolemie* in the second of his Geography, *Eboracum* is reckoned the eighth in order of naming: But there they are placed according to their situations, not dignity. He mentions it likewise again in the eighth Book of this same Work, in these words. *Τὸ δ' Εβόρακον, ἔχει πρὸς μάλιστα ἡμέραν ὡρῶν ιζ. καὶ διέσκειν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς δύσεως ὥρας β. γ'.* i e. *Eboracum maximum diem habet horarum: XVII. cum dodrante, & distat ab Alexandria versus occasum horis II. & triente.* In his *Astronomicall Canons* you shall finde it somewhat differently written. *Ευόρακον*, *Euoracum*; whence perhaps the *Saxons* speld it, *Euoppic*, adding their own *pic*, or *vicus*, of which elsewhere enough. In the *Almagest*, or his (g) great *Construccion* published in *Greek* at *Basil*, it is named *Βεργάντιον*, *Brigantium*; as you would say, *The chief City of the Brigantes*, saith our learned

(g) Ptol. Mab.  
Constru. lib. 2.  
cap. 6.



learned Antiquary: but withall he suspects the Copy to be corrupted. And not without some cause: For, as we are taught by the most admired Primat of *Armagh*, that word is quite wanting in the Greek MS. of the Library at *Lambeth*, (as in a Latine Copy likewise in New Colledge at *Oxford*, there is no word answering *Βριγάνης*.) for which notwithstanding there is to be found in the printed Latine Translation of the same Work out of the old Arabick, *Bericanas*. For which in the MS. of All-Soules Colledge in *Oxford* you may finde *Bencanas*. You shall have the whole pericope, as it is in the Translation of *Ptolemie* from the Arabick; and just as it was written in the copy I speak of, transcribed thence for me by the singular courtesie of my excellently learned friend, Dr. *Gerard Langbaine*, the worthy Provost of *Queens Colledge*, then whom I know no man alive, who furthereth Learning and good Letters more, either at home, or abroad; or with the like pains: yet take first *Ptolemies* own Greek; and that after, *Ptolemie*, Lib. II. Cap. 6. συντάξεως. Εἰκοστὸς δεύτερος ἐστὶ παράλληλος καθ' ὃν ἂν γένοιτο ἡ μέγιστη ἡμέρα αἰ-  
γῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἢ δ'. ἀπέχει δ' ὅσῳ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ, μοιρῶν νε. κ' ὑπόκειται διὰ Βριγαν-  
τῆς τῆς μεγάλης Βρετανίας, &c. The Latine out of Arabick in the MS. thus, *Et linea equidistans, 22. est, in qua longitudo † diei longioris est 17. hore, & quarta hore: Et ejus elongatio ab equatione diei 55. partes; descripta super Bencanas terre Britannie majoris, &c. Bericanas*, or *Bencanus* here, are words that signifie *Mirmantum*, i. e. *Eboracum*.

† vide CA-  
TARRA-  
CTONI-  
UM ex Ptol.  
pag.

Yet for this we may give you some satisfaction in what follows; I mean, discover the mistake: But for *Βριγάνη*, I fear how well I may do it, (against more then the single authority of the *Lambeth Gr. MS.*) except you will read \* *Βριγάντων πόλεως*, and so take it for *Tork* as the chief City of them; which yet I like not: for then would there remain some *vestigium* of that word *πόλεως* rendred into Arabick, had it been ever in the Greek. What I hoped for from my Arabick friends, that by chance in this flourishing age of those studies, and books, they might light upon a Copy of *Ptolemie* in that Language, I now utterly despair of. Or if perchance this might happen, yet I fear the genuine reading in the Greek, may but very obscurely be restored, in proper Names, which the most \* learned hath sufficiently taught us. *Neque est, sayes he, quisquam literis hujce [Arabice] non prorsus alienus, qui nesciat etiam notissima nomina in idiolismos Orientales deformata, obscura nimis solere reddi. Etiam & nomina ipsa Ægyptiaca, Africana, & alia, quæ originis non sunt Latina aut Græcæ, quamplurimum à nominibus Græcis ac Latinis in usu, sæpius desiderare.* It were to be wished, that Dr. *Bainbridge*, the learned Professor of Astronomy in *Oxford*, (whom I have heard from his chaire seriously commending a new Edition of *Ptolemie* to the free Beneficence of some great Prince:) when he

\* Brigantium  
urbs.

\* Ioan Seldeni  
δ μακεδόνος,  
Comm. in Eu-  
lychii Origines,  
num. 16. p. 124.



collated the Gr. printed Text, with the *Lambeth* MS. and exactly noted the various lections, in which the want of this *Beyavlis* is taken notice of by him, had also given us a note of his conjecture upon this place. For, I cannot see, to speak truly, how *Beyavlis*, or some such word, can at all be missing here, that signifie just nothing. And yet, perhaps, as much as that we finde in the Glosse upon an old (h) *Ninnius*; in that place, I mean, where it is added: *Cair segint*, i. e. *Eboracum*. *Mirmantum*, i. e. *Eboracum*.

(h) MS. in  
Biblioth. Præ-  
stantif. D. Ar-  
machani.

There are besides these, certain other appellations, or expressions rather, as indeed they are, of this most famous place; which perhaps you would not I should omit. *Ninnius*, the antientest Historiographer of the *Britans*, as who wrote about DCCC. years ago, in his *Catalogue* of the Cities of *Britain*; names it according to the best Copies compared, (i) *Cair Ebrauc*, al. *Cair Brauc*. *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, the Author, or Translator of the *British History*, which you will, will have it named *Ebrauc*, by a K. of *Britain* descended of *Trojan* race, and himself so named. (k) *Condidit Civitatem de nomine suo, Caer Ebrauc*. And yet the old *Britains* call it at this day, *Caer-Effroc*, as the *English* now *Tork*, the *Saxons* *Euoppic*; for *Urdwick*, saith *Leland*, more contractedly indeed, and also more corruptly. For *Leland* saith, *Ortelius* stiffly maintains, that *Tork* is called *Uroricum*, à *Græcis & Latinis scriptoribus*. For the *Greek*, truly I have little to say; as much as nothing, who I beleeve, scarce knew what *Vicus* was. For the *Latine*, he was good at it; hear him therefore, I pray, what he sayes himself in these writings of his, which now I have under my hand, (l) *Sunt qui suspicentur, nec tenere illud, flumen quod urbem alluit, Isurum olim dictum fuisse ab Ifide & Uro superius confluentibus. Ise Fluviu à Saxonicis Ouse, dictus. Argumento sunt Ouseforde, id est, Ifidis vadum. Ousebourne, id est, Ifidis aqua. Si hæc conjectura valet, ut certe plurimum valere videtur; Isurovicum aptum, elegans, rotundum etiam urbi nomen erit. Isurovicum*, saies he, would be a fit, elegant, an trim name for the City. *Camden* does countenance this conceit of his, but with more judgement, and likelihood; he addes, That *Eburacum*, should signifie, upon, or by the river *Urus*. So saies he, the *Ebuovices* in *France*, were seated by the river *Eure*; neer unto (m) *Evreux* in *Normandie*. The *Eburenæ* in the *Low Countries* neer the river *Ourt*, in the *Diocess* of *Luick*; the *French* call it *Liege*. And *Eblana* in *Ireland* stands hard by the river *Lefny*. But here in deducing the name of *Eburacum*, if I would, I might wonder, why (n) *Hæctor Boethius*, the bold forging *Scot*, and from him, for I dare confidently say it, *Floriano de Campo* the *Spaniard*, bringing the *Brigantes* of *Britain* from the City *Brigantia* in *Spain*, by the way of the *Brigantes* of *Ireland*, of which in another place, why they did not likewise derive

(i) A. Rev.  
D. Armach.  
Primord. Ec-  
cles. Brit. cap. 5.  
pag. 61.

(k) Galfrid.  
Hist. Britan. lib.  
1. cap. 13.

(l) Ioan. Le-  
land in Geneth.  
Edwardi primi.

(m) L'Evesche  
d'Evreux in  
Normandie.

(n) Hæct. Boe-  
thius Hist. Sco-  
tic.



derive *Eboracum* from *Ebora*, a City also in Spain; and that they had three Cities there, whose names were *Ἐβόρα*, one of which *Ptolomie* calls, (o) *Ἐβόρα*, *Hermolaus Byzantius*, the contractor of *Stephanus* Book, *περὶ πόλεων*, is my witnesse. But perhaps they never did light upon this Work: for as *Accursius* used to say, *Græcum est, non potest legi*. The (p) Writer of *Severus* life, calls it *Civitatem*, by way of excellencie, (so they use to speak) as appears in these words: *Et in Civitatem veniens quum rem divinam vellet facere*: But the most glorious name, if we may beleieve (q) *William Harrison*, a very learned man of the former Age, was *Altera Roma*, another Rome. By which, saies he, it was called, *because of the beauty and fine building of the same*. The conceit indeed may be liked, if we consider withall, that Britain was of old time commonly called *Alter*, and *Alius orbis*: and then shall *Eboracum* be its Rome. But what shall we say then of France? Must that be *Alter orbis* too, because we finde, that *Burdegala*, or *Burdeaux*, was honoured there with the same Title, or Appellation. You shall hear the Monk (r) of *Westminster*: *Burdegata, dicta Altera Roma, Viri civitatis, diducto pulvere, invenerunt scriptum*.

(o) Lib. I. quæ apud Tacitum in Agr. vit. pro Silures, Brigantes substituit. Sed vide in hoc opere B R I G A N T.

*Ἐβόρα etiam Straboni r. dicta.*

(p) Ael. Spar-tian. in vita Se-ver.

(q) Guil. Har-ison. descrip. Britan. lib. I. cap. 17.

(r) Mattheus Westmonast. An. 1000. CCCV.

*Dic tu qui transis, & porta limina tangis,  
Altera Roma vale, nomen geris Imperiale.*

Say whosoe're shall to this City come,  
Thou bearst th'Imperiall name, farewell old Rome.

*Scribebantur autem ibi hi versus ante mille annos*. But these rimedoggrill verses, not *Leonine*, as I think they are usually called, confute the Monks count of time; for they want many ages of it. The same (s) *Harrison* hath delivered, that it was named *Victoria*, of the *Legion Victrix*, that lay there some time. We want antienter record and authority for it. And though *Ptolomie* hath an antient City of the Britains, of that name, \* [*Οὐίχλογία*] yet it stands too too far Northerly, that we can by no means deem it to sute with *Eboracum*. Later ages, after the very declination of the Empire, by changing the termination of the name, as next before *Isuri*, *Isurium*, a thing indeed very usuall, and therefore scarce worth observing, expressed it *Eboraca*, as *Gregory* the (t) Great, or first Pope so named in his Epistles to the sanguinary Monk, *Augustine* of *Canterbury*. And from hence, I beleieve, saith our *Giraldus Cambrensis*, (u) *Eboraca, quæ nunc Eboracum dicitur*, XII. *suffraganeos trahens*, &c. And in his Words, not far before these; you have; *Provincia quarta Maxima*, id est, *Eboraca*, ab *Imperatore Maximio dicta*: as if † *Maxima Casariensis* (so he means) one of the five portions, or Provinces into which Britain was divided,

(s) Guil. Har-ison descrip. Britan. lib. 2. cap. 7.

\* Ptol. Geogr. lib. 2.

(t) Gregor. M. lib. 12. epist. 15.

(u) Giral. Cambrenf. Dialog. de Menevens. Ecclesia, distinct. 2.

† Maximiano forte, vel Maximo, sed potius à quantitate quod esset maxima.



ded by the Romans, containing all, they say, from Tine to Humber; were otherwisenamed EBORACA; which yet seemeth not to me. To have done; we finde in a very antient and credible Writer, *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, who hath succinctly written the lives of the Emperors, that *Eboracum*, which is known by all, to have been a Colony, was a *Municipium* too, or Free Town, which two have no coincidencie, or suteableness. It is in *Severus* life, where he speaks of his death, which all agree was at *Tork*; *Neque multo post Britannia Municipio, cui Eboraci nomen, annis regni duo deviginti morbo extinctus est.* A

(x) *Agell. Noct. Attic. lib. 16. cap. 13.*

(y) *Selden. in eximii poetæ Poly. Cant. 16.*

(z) *Pell. Patrycul. Hist. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

(a) *Frontin. lib. de Coloniais.*

(b) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.*

*Municipium* was, as (x) *Agellius*, one of the antients, teaches us, where the inhabitants lived, as so Rome, making use of their own Laws and Constitutions, capable onely of Honorarie Title in the State of Rome, and thence called, *Municipes*, otherwise bound to no duties by any Law of the people of Rome. It differed from a Colony, saith all-knowing (y) *Selden* most of all, in that a Colonie was a Progenie of the City, and this of such as were received into State-favour, and friendship by the Romans. But of a *Municipium* more fully, as in its more proper place: see *VERULAMIVM*, or, *Caer Municip.* by which name St. Albans was antiently known to the Britains. And yet here too, let me tell you, that it was of old a thing frequent enough, that Colonies were changed into *Municipia*, and contrary. *Camden* out of *A. Gellius*, instanced in the Case of *Prænestini*. And we may adde the *Puteoli* very antiently (z) a Colony, which notwithstanding, in *Ciceroes* days, was a *Municipium*, as appears out of his Oration; for *M. Cælius*. Afterwards it was made a Colonie again by *Augustus*, (a) as *Frontinus* witnesses. Though *Tacitus* relates that they obtained the priviledge and name of a Colony from (b) *Nero*. But that *Eboracum* was ever such a Colonie, or turned into a *Municipium*, it is not this place of *Aurelius Victor*; nor these precedent places alledged, can induce me to be perswaded. *Camden* truly our learned Antiquary tells us; that this difference of names in the History of the Emperors, is not altogether so exactly observed, but that one and the same place may be found indifferently called both a *Municipium*. and a Colony; which if so, I judge it rather the Historians oscitancie, and supine negligence, then so in the very nature of the thing. But to expedite and clear the whole businesse: We are to know, that there were two sorts of Colonies; one civil, drawn out from among the gowned Citizens, as well as the miscellane sort of people. The other Military, taken out of Legions, and cohorts, when they were past service, and settled in towns, or elsewhere, for a reward of their blood spent for the Commonwealth. The former of these became many times *Municipia* or free Burroughs, but the later not so; it being thought derogatory, that such as had born arms, should



should admit of an inferiour, and lesse glorious condition. Much lesse when a whole Legion had, by the Emperours beneficence and large indulgence, sate down any where; as here at *Eboracum*. Yet they were called out upon any service, as exigency of affairs required, and after returned to their quarters again. As this Legion, after their assisting to raise the *Wall*, (which not long before his death, *Severus* reared from Sea to Sea, to divide the Provinciated part of the Iland from the barbarous;) which we may very well conclude from an old Inscription digged up there by, *LEG. VI. VIC. P. F. F.* that is, *Pia felix fecit*. Concerning the *Wall*, there is a place of *Aelius Spartianus*, an old Writer, in his life: *Post Murum, aut Vallum missum in Britannia, quam ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in eternum pace fundata*. He saies, that *Severus*, after his *Wall* drawn in manner aforesaid, (the place is no way questionable;) retired into the next mansion. That this *proxima mansio* was \* *Carliel*, appears, in that it was at that time, not only the chiefeest Mansion, and so continued quite along to be of a durable fate; but was also indeed, as neer as any other to the *Wall*, even when in after ages they had placed frequent stations about it. Now, that the *VI. Legion* attended him hither to *Carliel*, having dispatht the work they had been about, themselves have left a clear monument, and testimony, a Stone there inscribed thus, with very fair and large letters:

LEG. VI.  
VIC P. F.  
G. P. R. F.

That they also departed thence with him to *York*, where not long after he died, is a probability, as good as certainty. Great was the trust which *Severus* reposed in them; great was the opinion he had of their valour and service in the affairs of the Iland: no lesse, perhaps, then *Julius Cæsars* of the *X. Legion*, (a) which he brought thither along with him, and had made his *Prætorian* guard, because, *Et indulserat præcipue, & propter virtutem confidebat maxime*, as himself gives testimony of them in his own writings: but if you will hear him speak in *Dio*, (b) he makes his boasts of them, that if there were occasion, they would venture naked thorow the fire for his sake.

This gallant *Sixth Legion* remained an Age or two, if not more, at *York*. This Inscription, as *Camden* hath transcribed it, witnessing its residence there, seems not to me to be of the earliest antiquity; that is, very suddenly after the Legions coming thither:

M. VEREC.

\* *Luguballa*  
*Itin. II.*

(a) *Cæs. Com. de Bello Gal. lib. I.*

(b) *In Orat. ad legatos & Præfect. apud Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 38.*



\* *Quatuor vir*  
\* *Ibid. mortuus.*  
† *Civis.*

M. VEREC. DIOGENES \*IIIIII VIR  
COL. EBOR. \*IDEMQ. MORT. †CIVES  
BITURIX. HÆC SIBI VIVUS FECIT.

(c) *Barn. Bris-*  
*son. Antiquit.*  
*lib. 4. cap. 12,*

The faults of the *Quadrator*, or Stone-cutter, being mended, as you see, the meaning thereof is easily to be understood, and the state of the Colony learnt; which, as all others, was a lesser model of the great City it self. Therefore, as at *Rome* they had their *Quatuorviri* (c) for repairing their High-ways; so also at *Tork*, till the declining of the Empire, the same Office was kept up here: he that waited upon it at this time, with his other three partners, was *M. Verecundus Diogenes*, a native of *Berry* in *Guascoign*; who, by wisely providing himself a Monument in his life-time, hath had the good hap, to out-live the memory of his fellows.

\* *Dion Cass.*  
*Hist. Rom. l. 55.*  
\* *νικηφόρων.*

(d) *Pancirolo.*  
*Comment. in*  
*Notit. Occi-*  
*dentis, cap. 89.*

(e) *Herodian.*  
*Histor. lib. 3.*

(f) *Mat. 15.*  
*33. Matth. 27.*  
*45.*

(g) *διὰ τὸ ἀ-*  
*πιθανὸν καὶ ἀδύ-*  
*νατον.*

Some fourscore years after the death of *Severus*, we meet with this *Legion* again in its own room in *Britain*, mentioned by *Dion. Cassius* the Consular Historian in his recension of the Legions of his time, shewing what alteration had happened unto them since the age of *Augustus*. These his words: \* ἐκτα δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν, ἐν Βρετανίᾳ τῇ κτίτει, τὸ δὲ \* νικηφόρων. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τὸ Σιδονεῖ τετακται. There are, sayes he, *Two fixt Legions*, of which one is placed in the *Lower Britain*, named one of the conquering ones; the other in *Judæa*, called the *Iron* one: or *Ferrateris*, as it appears by a Column in *Rome* inscribed with the Legions names of the Empire. *Guidus Pancirolo* (d) understands the businesse, as if the VI. Leg. were divided into two parts, which argues the fulnesse and great reputation of it of old. As for the division of *Britain* here into ἡ ἄνω, and ἡ κάτω. The *Higher and Lower Britain*, it was done without doubt by *Severus*, after he had vanquished *Albinus Caesar*, and his party, who met to oppose him by *Lyons* in *Gallia*. *Herodian* (e) of *Alexandria*, in the History of the Cæsars of his own times, is our Author for it, whose own words I willingly transcribe hither, that so the much famed Translation of *Angel. Politianus* may be noted: διοικήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βρετανίαν, καὶ διελάν εις δύο ἡγεμονίας τὴν τῶ ἔθνους ἡγεσίαν. *Politian: Rebus igitur Britannia ordinatis, cum totius insulae administrationem bifariam dispartisset.* Did he mean, think you, by that *totius*, that the whole Iland was under the power of the Romans? sure enough no. Or else that it should παρέλκειν, or be redundant, as ὑπερβαίνει is to be understood in the Gospel (f) of Saint *Murk*, or πᾶς in *Matthew*, as the (g) Greek Interpreters, and others of *Homer*, observes doth very often; and *omnis* in Latin, as in *Hierons* Translation of a piece of *Clemens Romanus*: ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐκ ἡλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας, καὶ οὐκ ἐν δυνάμει, ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶ φερόν. *Hieron. Dominus Jesus Christus non venit in jactantia superbia, cum possit omnia, sed in humilitate.* But let others look to it. I would



would not willingly be laughed at for making good anothers mistake, or oversight. *Herodians* ἐν δύο ἡγεμονίας διέτε is not also so well translated, by *bisariam despertivit*. Therefore (h) Richard White our Countreyman, and sometimes Professor of the Civil Law in Doway, will have it turned: *Dispertivit in duo regimenta gentis illius potestatem*. Which I translate, *President-Ships, Praefectos*, saith he, *Regimenta Reipublicæ Arcadius Charisius titulo*, (i) *De officio Praefecti Pratorii vocat*. And hence perhaps we have the Original of our *Regiments* at this day: As *Colnel* from *Colonia*: Shall we therefore (and so set back the time, according to vulgar count, wherein *Ptolemy* wrote his *Geography*, where is mention of this Legion in *Britain*: for there is no exact proof that he published it under *Antoninus Pius*; though I forbear to define any thing peremptorily, till learned men have agreed, whether the same *Ptolemy* who is Author of the *Almagest*, and who indeed wrote (k) it then, be also of the *Geography*; which I see for good reasons questioned:) Shall we, I say, then, to constitute this double President-ship, ordained by *Severus*, place one of them at *York* with the VI. Legion *Victrix* in *Lower Britain*; and the other in the *Higher Britain* (as (m) *Dio* also directly saies) at (l) *DEVA*, or *Chester*, with the XX. *Legio Victrix*? Perhaps not amiss. But how long this bipartite, or joint power, continued, or whether it were not straitway dissolved by the arrival of *Severus* himself (it being not usual among them to dispose the main charge of their affairs in the Provinces into more hands than ones:) it will be worth our considering. After *Clodius Albinus* his revolt, and defeat, we meet not with any *Proprator*, or *Legat* of *Severus* in *Britain*, save *Virius Lupus*, whom he appointed to that undertaking about the time that moving against *Albinus*, he took his eldest son *Aurel. Antoninus* to share in command, and Empire with him. This we learn from an old (n) inscription, or two, digged up in the North, in which he is called *Legatus* (o) *eorum pro rator*: but (p) *Ulpian*, the famous Civil Lawyer names him *Praeses*, or President of *Britain*. Of any other I am quite ignorant. For whereas the learned *Camden* names with him *Heracianus* (he is diversly written *Heracius* and *Heracitus*;) I am sorry to say he was very much deceived therein to make him a *Legate* in *Britain*, being led indeed thereto by a corrupted Copy of (q) *Spartianus* where he read, *Severus Heracitum ad obtinendam Britanniam misit*. For *Eithyniam*, you must by all means read *Bithyniam*: *Casaubon* offered very fair at this emendation, but *Salmastius* ventured upon it in good time. Neither can it be otherwise, will you say, if you heedfully read the same Author in *Severus* life, as also in the life of *Pescennius Niger*; in the first of which you have this, which confirms it: *Bithyniam vero occupare non potuit Heracius, Byzantium jam tenente Nigro*. Besides *Heracius* was sent to *Eithynia* before *Severus* had yet vanquished

(h) D. Hieron. ad cap. 42. Esa.

(i) D. lib. I. Tit. II.

(k) Vii constat ex eo Opere.

(m) Dio Hist. Rom. lib 55.

(l) Vide Devam secundo Itinere.

(n) Apud Camden. in Brigantibus.

(o) Severi sc.

& Antonini

Caracalla Fab.

est itaque ei

fallit R. Vitus

Histor.

(p) Ulpian. D.

de vulgari sub.

stit. l. Moribus

introducitur est.

Brit. lib. 5. not.

17. qui Lupum

Antonini tantum

Tr. Pr. (Ulpiani loco deceptas) soribit.

(q) Ael. Spartian. in vita Se-

veri.



Niger, or thought of *Albinus*, who was *Cæsar*, and governed *Britain* at this time; no suspicion yet appearing between them.

Neer upon CC years after the Consulship of the same *Dion Cassius*, if you will admit of Poetical Authority, and theirs that interpret Poets, you shall find this Sixth Legion departing out of *Britain* to serve *Fl. Stilicho* in his War against *Alarichus* King of the *Goths*. It is the flourishing and neat Poet *Claudian* who saith so much, if his *Expositor*; one learned enough, *Antonio Del Rio*, be not too far out in his conjecture. The Poet of the two may best be excused, in whom you read: (r)

(r) *Claudian. l. de bello Getico. Idem de Nupt. Pallad. & Celerina: quæ Saxona frenat, vel Scotum legio. Nam mali in antiqu. Par. edit. Colin. regio.*

*Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,  
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exanimis Pictæ moriente figuras.*

The Legion on the British Borders lay,  
Which curb'd the valiant Scot, and did survey  
The steel-cut figures on the dying Pict.

Upon which of his, the other hath these Words: *Sexta videlicet Britannica, ex eventu, victricis nomen adepta*. He is out truly by taking the Poet too much at his word. He should have done better to have remembered the great (s) Critiques censure of him:

(s) *Julius Scalig. in Poetice.*

*Ignobiliori materia depressus, quod deerat de materia, addidit de ingenio.* Which is true here. For this Legion is found in *Britain* afterward, some good many years; if that be true, which *Alciat*, *Pancirolus*, *Camden*, and others say, that the *Notitia* of both Empires was set out by *Theodosius* the younger, as most probable. For that War against the *Goths* was about the year CCCIII. in the Consulships of *Theodosius Junior Aug.* and *Fl. Rumoridus*, before *Theodosius* was sole Emperor. The mention thereof you have thus in the *Notitia* of the West: *Sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum Præfectus Legionis Sextæ*. As there were under his disposing also, and command, XIII. more *Præfecti*, in convenient stations: besides XXIII. other *Prefects*, *Tribunes* of Cohorts, &c. *per lineam Valli*, along the Wall, which was raised to keep the barbarous off from the *Britains*. *Pancirolus* to these last words [*Præfectus Legionis Sextæ*] blunders fowly, and dreams of some yet unknown place, called *Sexta*, setting it down so; and of a Legion that had lost its name. But at length he falls right upon the *Legio VI.* which, that it constantly resided at *Eboracum*, or *York*, somewhat above CCC years, I suppose is very sufficiently demonstrated, and made good. And now to tell you after all this, that, about the time of the Norman Conquest, this so antient and magnificent a City, and seat of the Roman Greatness in the Province, was called † *Civitas Eborum*, will be as perhaps needless after the tediousness, so fruitless and long a discourse hath moved, so quite besides

\* In Doomesday book:  
quem librum  
Clariss. Camde-  
nus Censualem  
Angliæ Li-  
brum eo tempore  
appellat. Affer-  
vatur hodieque  
in Kaccario. De  
eo vide quæ præ-  
notata Seldeno  
res novu  
Historiæ Ead-  
meri Monachi  
Cantuariensis  
eiusdem seculi.



besides my *institutum* and purpose, who would fain confine my self in this whole business within the limit of those ages wherein the *Romans* bore sway among us, and not lower. And yet there remaining still, within the limits of that time which I have prescribed to my self, some goodly memories of the glory and splendour of this so antient a City, and to this day flourishing (which argues the strong and sound constitution thereof;) quite untoucht some of them, others very slightly handled by such as have undertaken to set forth our affairs of old time, and to adorn them; I shall here gather and sum up to what is said what else I have met with, and conceive conducing to the lustre of the place; and that in the behalf of the Favorers and Admirers thereof; among whom I willingly profess my self, for very good reasons, though not in this place to be mentioned, or thought of.

It makes not the least for the fame and glory of it, that *Septimius Severus* the Emperor of *Rome*, and Master of the World; one deservedly equalled with the greatest Martialists of any age, not only had his *Palace* and residence for so many years, but also here breathed his last. His Actions here, and maner of his death, we shall leave to *History*, and a greater Work. His dying speeches are memorable, and full of brave spirit. One in (a) *Dio* argues his earnestness and dispatch of business: "Αχρε, δότε, ἃ ἡ παῖς ἔχουσιν. Let's see, my Masters, what else have we to do? His last words related in *Spartianus* contain excellent and wise counsel to his Sons: † *Firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquo, si boni eritis, imbecillum, si mali.* Together with an exact survey of what he had done; so well becoming a man of so great performance: *Turbatam Rempublicam ubique accepi; pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo.* Neither may that in the same Author be omitted, which shoves a gallant despicency in him of all human affairs, how great and glorious soever they were which himself conceived thus in Greek: \* Παντα ἐχρόνισα, καὶ ἐδίδον μοι λυσιτελεῖν. For though an *African* born, he was an admirable Master in (b) both Languages of the Empire. When he saw there was no other way, but death, he called for the *Urn*, wherein he had appointed his ashes should be put, after the (c) *ossilegium*, and viewing it very heedfully: (d) *Thou shalt hold*, said he, *the man whom the whole World could not contain.* It was of (e) *Porphyrite*, or *Red Marble Stone*, saith *Dio*; of (f) *Alabaster*, as *Herodian*, of gold (g) as others: but *Dio*, for good reasons, is to be thought in the right. Being at length dead (I will use the Poets words, concerning *Achilles*, of *Severus*, who as far exceeded him, as true History doth *Romance* or *Errantry*;) )

*Palatium Ael. Spartian.*

(a) *Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 76.*

† *vide Dionem.*

\* I have been all; yet never the better for it.

(b) *Utroque nostro sermone. Claudius Imp. apud. Sueton. cap. 42.*

(c) The gathering his bones together.

(d) *χωρήσεις ἄνδρα ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχωρήσεν. Dio.*

(e) *ἐς ὑψηλὴν πωφύρεν λίθον. Idem.*

(f) *εἰς χαλκῷ πλῶ ἀλαβάστρου. Herod.*

(g) *Aliqui urnulam auream fuisse dicunt. Spartian. in vita.*

(h) *Ovid. Met. lib. 12.*

(h) ——— De tam magno restat Achille  
Nescio quid, parvam quod vix bene compleat Urnam:

M 2

At



*At vivit totum quæ gloria compleat Orbem.  
Hæc illi mensura viro respondet ———*

And of that great *Achilles* scarce remains  
So much, as now a little Urn contains.  
Yet still he lives ; his glory lightens forth,  
And fills the world : this answers his full worth.

(i) *Mora mili-  
tari effertur a  
militibus.* Guil.  
Xyland. inter-  
pre ejus.

His (i) body was carried forth in a military manner by the Sol-  
diers, and so placed upon the fire : So the Latine of *Dio*, which  
though it may be so, yet *Dio's* own words mean somewhat  
more : *σώμα αὐτοῦ στρατιωτικῶς κοσμηθέν, ἐν τῇ πυρὶ ἐτίθη.* id est, *his body  
attired in the habit of a Souldier was laid on the Rogus, or Pile to  
burn him on ; and honored with the μειδεσμή, decursion, or running  
round it, by his Sons and Souldiers.* This custome is to be fetcht  
down from the ages of the Heroes in (a) *Homer*, and from *Vir-  
gil* also in the Funeral rites of *Pallas*, and others, *Æn.* XI.

(a) *In inferiis  
Patrocli.* Iλ. φ.

*Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,  
Decurrere rogos : ter mæstum funeris ignem  
Lustrare in equis ———*

Thrice round about the burning Pyres they go,  
Girded in shining arms, thrice fires of wo,  
Mounted on mourning Horses, they surround.

(a) *Seneca con-  
solat. ad Poly-  
bium cap. 37. v.  
illic Just. Lipsi-  
um.*

*Camden in Bel-  
gis.*

Concerning the place where the *Bustum* was, our learned  
Antiquary tells us out of *Radulfus Niger*, a writer of ours some  
ages ago, that by *Ackham*, not far off, west from the City, is a  
place called *Sivers*, from *Severus* ; and that it was there, a huge  
heap of earth, yet to be seen, as he saies, is a token to prove it  
so. And truly that doth not differ which you find in my Lord  
of *Armaghs* Chronology, joined to his *Primordia* of the *Britain*  
Churches. *Corpus ejus rogo est impositum, in loco qui ad hunc usque  
diem. Sivers hill, sive Severi collis nomen retinet.* Such kind of  
Monuments called *tumuli*, or *cumuli*, were with no small cost  
and pains, raised by the *Romans* to the memory of their dead,  
especially if they were of better note. We learn this expres-  
ly from (a) *Seneca* : *Cætera quæ per constructionem lapidum, &  
marmoreas moles, & terrenos tumulos, in magnam eductos altitudi-  
nem constant, non propagabunt longum diem : quippe & ipsa intere-  
unt.* The former times have wondered at so great heaps, *causæ  
parum gnara*, saith a learned man, to be met withall every where  
almost, and yet were they ignorant, for what cause they were  
so cast up. In several places with us they are to be shewed. I have  
seen a very notable one as you go to the *Bath*, in the Plains be-  
yond *Malborough*. Barbarous Nations seem to have imitated the  
*Romans* herein, as they did the more antient *Greeks*, among whom  
you have *Sarpedon* King of *Lycia* buried

Τύμβος



Τὸ μῶρον τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν νεκρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνόντων. ιλ. π.

With Tomb and Pillar-stone, which are the dead mans meed.

And these had it from the antienter (c) Jews. But return we (c) Gen. 25. 20. to Severus.

Among divers presages, or bodements of his death, taken notice of by the Historian *Spartianus*, this one may not go unremembered here, because from thence we are informed that *Bellona*, the famous Goddess of War, Sister or Wife to *Mars*, had a Temple then at *Tork*. His words are: *Et in civitatem veniens, quum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonæ Templum ductus est errore aruspiciis rustici, deinde hostiæ furvæ sunt applicitæ. Quod cum esset aspernatus, atque ad Palatium se reciperet, negligentia ministrorum nigræ hostiæ usque ad limen domus Palatinæ Imperatorem sequuntæ sunt.* It were to be wished that those two learned men, or at least one of them, whose lucubrations are extant upon these lesser Writers of the *Augustian* History (authors not every where so perspicuous, and plain) had not passed over this place so in silence: then perhaps they had removed some difficulties therein, and cleared them, which have occasioned great suspense to the ordinary reader, such I mean as my self is. As first, (for I am not skilled in the (a) *Tuscan* Tages, his *Aruspicina*; what might be conceived of this *aruspex rusticus*, how he differed from those of the City. That he was a cogging cheating knave, as all the (b) rest of them were, is easie to guess; and enough like them we have in our daies. How much their knowledge was, in what they professed, appears by a relation of (c) *Dio Cassius*, telling how after some strange prodigies seen in *Rome*, the *Aruspices*, or Soothsayers, busying themselves, forsooth, in disposing what should be done to the Temples, to pluck down some, let others stand; among them that were suffered to remain, the \* Temple of *Bellona* was one, which straitway fell down of it self, and they never the wiser; and for this they are noted by the wise Historian. I once thought, and perhaps was right, he might be one of the Ministers of *Bellona*, called *ιερόδουλοι* by (d) *Strabo*, and by others *servi*; as in that place of (e) *Minulius Felix*. *Bellona servum suum hausit cruoris humans imbuir.* As also that of *Ael. Languidius in Commodo*: *Bellona servientes vere exsecare brachium præcepit, studio crudelitatis.* By which it appears sometimes they forbore this cruelty. These *Hierodouli*, or sacred *servitors* of hers, called otherwise *Bellonarii*, were no where more famous, or frequent, than at *Comana* in *Cappadocia*, in the valleys of *Antitaurus*, where, as an Author as old as *Cæsars* time writes, (f) was a most antient, and most venerable Temple of the Goddess; and so much revered, that her chiefest Priest by the consent of the whole Nation, was accounted

If. Casaubonus.  
Cl. Salmasius.

(a) *Ammian. Histor. lib. 17.*  
vide Illic Fred.  
*Lindenbrogium,*  
et Ia. Rutg.  
*Variar. lect. lib. 3. cap. 16. ex Nigidio Figulo.*  
(b) *Aruspex s. aruspice vide rit, mirum est ni rideat. Proverb. apud. Cætonem.*  
(c) *Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 42.*  
\* *ἱεροδούλοι.*

(d) *Strab. Geo. lib. 12.*  
(e) *Minulius in Octavio.*

(f) *Hirtius si- ve quis alius auctor lib. De Bell. Alexandrino.*



ted next to the King in Majesty, command and power : It was called also by the Cities name *Comana*, according to *Strabo* : who saies he found there, men and women, not less then 1000. who all professed themselves to be *θεορρέητοι*, or divinely inspired by *Bellona*. *Strabo* saies not here indeed, that any of them were dispersed about the Countrey, or so much as that in their mad frantick fits they rambled and raved out up and down their dreamy predictions. Yet we must conceive it so : For that was most frequent and usual with them in their assumed distempers. Testimony enough there is of that : take one, or two, which come next to hand. The Heathen Poets :

(g) *Juvenal. satyra 4.*

——(g) *Sed, ut fanaticus astro  
Percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat* ——

—— For he  
Divin'd, *Bellona*, as inspired by thee.

(h) *Lactant. lib. 1 cap. 21.*

\* *esse antur.*

(i) *Tertullinn. lib. de Pallio.*

(k) *D. Petav. Notis ad Orat. v. Iuliani Caesaris.*

(l) *Habentur post Acta Collationis Carthagine habitæ inter Catholicos & Denatistas.*

After whom it is not to be thought that eloquent Christian *Lactantius* can bely them : (h) *Alia virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant ; in quibus ipsi sacerdotes non alieno, sed suo cruore sacrificant. Seētis namque humeris, & utraque manu districtos gladios exerentes currunt, \* efferuntur, insaniunt.* But *Tertullian* is plain that the *Bellonarii* of *Carthage* (and sure they had all every where the same tricks and figaries) had their place of recourse, or rendezvous, when they acted their seeming extasies, which he calls *Bellona montes* ; and not far from the City as it is very likely. (i) *Cum ob diversam affectionem tenebrica vestis, & cetrici supra caput velleris in Bellona montis fugantur.* There are two French men, of as great name and credit in learning, as any whoever of the last or former ages, which notwithstanding about this place, and divers others as often as they can lay hold of occasion, sometimes in their own, sometime under forged names, they have wounded, worse then ever the *Bellonarii* did themselves. They are *Dionysius Petavius*, and *Claudius Salmasius*. The later's reading of it matters not here. *Petavius* defends the former in these words (k) *Erant haud procul Carthagine, quantune suspicari licet, montes ita nominati ; forte quod Bellona, ac Bellonarius sacrati, in quibus insanis illis cursitationibus operabantur.* And backs it with the like place, wherein, saies he, there is mention of one of those mountains, out of the (l) Acts of the Purgation of *Cæcilian* and *Felix*, at *Carthage* : *Victor respondit ; Fugeram hanc tempestatem : & si mentior peream. Cum incursum pateremur repentine persecutionis, fugimus in montem Bellonæ.* In a word, (for I perceive by this time the Reader is weary of me, as well as of these mad fellows :) as they were not unlike to the old *Calli Sacerdotes* of *Cybele*, or the Mother of the Gods ; so do they much resemble our *Toms* of *Bedlam* ; or among the *Turks* their *Torlacchi*, as they are



are described by the best writers: whose respect was such with all sorts, that one of them being admitted neer the person of *Bajazet* II. he had almost slain him, but the blow failing his aim fell on his horse, and wounded it: for which the whole gang was suppressed for a time, but since have raised their head as much as ever. *Marinus Barlerius* in the life of *Scanderbeg*, mistakes the *Deroises*, by far a more civil sect, for these ruffling Franticks, and *Assassins*.

And now, if after all this, there be any Reader, that entertains not satisfaction concerning this *Aruspex rusticus*; let him then please himself, and follow his own fancy, by thinking, that this Temple of *Bellona* at *Tork* served for the same purpose as that at *Rome* did, namely to denounce war against the Enemies from a Pillar standing before it, which is reported by *Sextus Pompeius*: (m) *Bellona dicebatur dea bellorum ante cujus templum erat columella, quæ bellica vocabatur, supra quam hastam jaciebant, cum bellum indicebatur.* Although, that in *Rome* was put also to other uses; as for Embassadors, from foreign Nations, whom they would not admit farther into the City, here they gave them hearing; likewise here they entertained their Generals returned from service abroad. And that *Sylla* here held a Senate, we learn from *Seneca*, whose words deserve transcribing: (n) *Cum Sylla in vicino ad ædem Bellonæ sedens exaudisset conclamationem tot millium sub gladio gementium, exterrito Senatu; Hoc agamus, inquit; seditiosi pauculi jussu meo occiduntur.* And then I must request such Readers to teach me, what is meant by a *Countrey Wizards* lighting upon the Emperour, being in a humour to sacrifice, as he entred into the City; how he came to lead him to *Bellona's* Temple, and what he was to do there; wherein did appear this *Wizards* Error, or mistake, and lastly in what of all this consisted the presage of *Severus* death? If any one of them can give me content in all these, they shall find me a man who never will be unwilling to confess *per quæ profecerim*; which every good man of duty is bound unto as he is ingenuous.

But if perhaps I was right, in what I thought before, then will I interpret that [errore] in the Historian, by *fanatica excursions*, with *Petavus*: for what else doth it mean? And gratify the favourable and candid, with a corrected reading of the whole *Pericope*, or passage in him, thus: *ductus est errore aruspici rustici. Deinde hostia furva sunt applicita: Quod cum esset aspernatus. &c.* putting a period, or full point after *rustici*. where was onely a *Comma*. That which follows [Deinde hostia] by any means beginning a new Presage. For what had *Bellona* to do with black Sacrifices, or indeed with any colour else? her Priests alwaies sacrificing, as you have been taught in what goes before; *non alieno, sed suo cruore*? A new, as I said, and another distinct Presage it is, exhibiting black sacrifices, which ever

(m) *Sex. Pomp. Festus de Verb. significat. ab Scaligerum consule.*

(n) *Seneca De Clementia lib. 1.*

were



were accounted unhappy, except offered to infernal Deities, and such as they were proper to: which the very boyes of the Chappel know. Where this Temple of *Bellona* was sited at *Tork*, perhaps is utterly unknown at this day. That in (o) *Rome* where it stood, though I could tell you, yet it is nothing to our purpose. We will not therefore have any more to say to either of them.

(o) *Vrbis regione XI. versus Portam Cavmentalem. Publius Victor.*

(p) *Herod. hist. lib. 3.*

(p) *Herodian* in his History writes, that *Severus* presently after his arrival here; himself with his eldest son *Antoninus* going forth to finde out the Enemy, left his youngest son *Geta* in that part of the Island which was obedient to the *Romans* (he must needs mean *Y O R K*;) to administer civil affairs; appointing him for counsell and Guides the gravest of his Friends. More then three years after, he and his son *Antoninus* sate also at *Tork* about common business, and gave their judgement in ordinary cases, as in that of *Cecilia* about recovery of right of possession. Their Rescript, or Law, thereabout is still preserved in the CODE, to the great glory and renown of this City, and dated as you see from thence, with the names of the Consuls of that year: neither can I forbear to publish it here, as the gallantest monument of Antiquity which it hath.

*Cod. lib. 3. tit. 32. De rei vindicatione. li. 1.*

\* Etiam per alienum servum, bona fide possessum, ex re ejus, qui eum possidet, vel ex operis servi acquiri dominium vel obligationem placuit. Quare si tu quoque bona fide possedisti eundem servum & ex nummis tuis mancipia eo tempore comparvit, potes secundum juris formam uti defensionibus tuis. Mancipium autem alienum mala fide possidenti nil potest acquirere, sed qui tenet, non tantum ipsum, sed etiam operas ejus, nec non ancillarum partus & animalium foetus reddere cogitur. PP. III. *Non. Maii Eboraci. Faustino & Ruso Coss.*

That is,

It seems just that a man may have right of Lordship and propriety in a foreign slave (possessed (*bona fide*) as of his own proper goods,) and also of his services. So that if thou hadst possession of the said Servant; and he, with thy money, in the time of his servitude, purchased any estate, thou mayest be relieved by the Law. But he that possesses a strange servant unlawfully, can have no remedy, but shall be forced not only to restore him, but also his services, and all the increase both of the women and cattel.

What



What the learned (a) *Cujacius* of *Great Britain* hath noted to this Law, I had rather you should have from his own hand, than mine. This was the very year, wherein *Severus* built his Wall, which *Spartianus* calls *maximum ejus imperii decus*, The greatest renown, and ornament of his Empire: for which, he also saies, he was surnamed (b) *BRITANNICUS*; and not so only, but (c) *MAXIMUS BRITANNICUS* too, as some old Stones do yet witness. Of this Wall I have said something already: to the next journey I have much more to say.

(a) Io. Selden  
Analec. Angl.  
Brit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

(b) Vnde etiam  
Britannici no-  
men recepit.  
Spartian.

(c) Barthol.  
Marlian. Urb.  
Rom. To-  
pograph. lib. 4.  
cap. 5. Alex.  
Donatus Romæ  
Ve. lib. 2. cap.  
15.

(d) Step. Forca-  
tulus de Gallo-  
rum Philosoph.  
& Imperio l. 6.

But in my judgement the greatest ornament, not onely of *Eboracum*, but of *Great Britain* also in those times, was *Æmilius Paulus Papinianus*. (d) *Forcatulus*, a French Antiquary, and not indiligent, affirms that the *Prætorium*, or Tribunal at *Tork*, was very happy in that it heard *Papinian*, the Oracle of Right and Law. So *Camden* out of him: for his own book is not now at hand. What special Authority therefore *Forcatulus* had for this, I cannot sufficiently tell. But confidently I believe, that here he was, and one of those grave Friends of *Severus*, whom *Herodian* told even now, he joined to his son *Geta*, for assistance in Civil matters. That *Forcatulus* was in the right herein, that also doth prove, that *Severus* on his death Bed left *Papinian* a kind of Guardian to both his Sons. Now it is not to be thought, that so wise a Prince would bequeath them to the care of an absent Tutor, who could not receive instructions and directions what to do from his own mouth. But (e) *Dio* puts all out of doubt, where he relates an undutiful and unnatural attempt of *Antoninus* upon his Fathers life: It is fit I set it down, as he tells it. " *Antoninus* riding along with his Father, the Army also following, in sight of the Enemy checkt his horse backward, and saying nothing, with a flight, drew his sword, aiming at his Fathers back: they seeing, that were in company, suddenly cryed out; at which *Antoninus* affrighted, held his hand. *Severus*, turning about at the cry, saw his Sword. But making no words of it, from thence he repaired to the Tribunal; where dispatching some necessary business, he retired to his Pavillion. Then calling for his Son, *Papinian*, and \* *Castor*; he commanded a sword to be placed before him: Here he chides him; first, because he had formerly made the like attempt: next, that he durst assay so haynous a fact, his friends, as well as Enemies, looking on. Lastly, saies he, if thou desirest to have me slain: here do it, for thou art of strength to do it; I being both old and a decrepit man, do besides ly here fair for thee. But if thou refusest it, or art afraid of it; here is *Papinian* (f) the *Præfectus Prætorio*, whom thou mayest command to see it done. For being Emperour, he will not disobey you. You may read the rest in *Dio*. There is another relation in *S. Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus* (him

(e) Dio Cass.  
Hist. Rom. l. 76.

\* Οὗτος ἀνὴρ  
ἀεισος ἦν πρὸς  
τὸν Σεβήν  
κατασφύζων  
Dio lib. 76.

(f) Ἐπαρχος  
Dioni. constat.  
præfectorem  
prætorio gessif-  
se. Victor de cæ.



(g) *Victor in Severo.*

(h) *Antonini.*

\* *Spart. in Severo Filios duos, Successores reliquit. Eutrop. Hist. Ro. lib. 8.*

that *Andreas Schottus* published ; not the *Epitome* of the *Cæsars*, formerly set forth under the same name ) which because it is different from others, take here ; yet for which without doubt he had his Authors, as himself tells : (g) *Quæ victoria* ( he means the the Assassination upon the person of *Geta*, by his brother : ) *Papiniani exitio sedior facta, ut sane putant memorie curiosi : quippe quem ferunt illo tempore* (h) *Bassiani scrinia curavisse, monilumque, uti mos est, destinando Romam quam celerrime componeret, dolore Getæ dixisse : HAUD QUAM PARI FACILITATE VELARI PARRICIDIUM, QUAE FIERET. Idcirco morte affectum.* By which words they out of whom *Victor* took them, seem to have believed, that not only the murder committed upon *Geta*, (it is likely, by this, at York :) but that brave saying also uttered by *Papinian*, were both before their return to *Rome*. Those words shew it [ *destinanda Romam* ] saies learned *J. Casaubon*, and maintains that reading good. And yet the same *Victor* writes out of others, *confestim secessere* ; they departed hence straitwaies. There is such a passage also in *Spartianus* life of *Geta*, which sayes as much as *Victor* doth in effect, that *Geta* was slain after his Fathers death, before their return to *Rome* : [ *Geta prius rebus humanis exemptus est, quam cum fratre teneret imperium.* ] Yet their Father left them joint Partners of the Empire, as we see by the History of his death : \* *Antoninis meis firmum imperium relinquo, &c.* Neither seem those disorders, which the same Writer saies hindred *Antoninus* departure out of the Iland, to proceed from any thing more than *Geta's* murther. *Denique nisi querelis de Getæ editis, & animis militum delinitis enormib. etiam stipendiis datis, Romam Bassianus redire non potuit.* Which makes the same learned man judge, that *Spartianus* was not the Author of both the Brothers Lives ; the contrary being related in *Antoninus* life out of *Herodian* and *Dio* as it is to be guessed. This observe, that not *Victor* onely, but those other Writers also of the *Augustean* Story, huddle together what ever they meet with in former Authors, though never so contrary one to another ; never endeavouring reconciliation ; which will appear in other business, besides this. *Victor* then, and *Spartianus*, had the same Authors, though but obscure ones. Whereas *Salmasius* indeavours to compose the difference between the Writers of these two Brothers lives, telling us, that of the two Sons of *Severus*, one was made Emperor by his Father, the other *Geta* saluted so by the Army, and that *Geta* was judged as an enemy, me thinks he saies nothing : For how can I think that he who more then once assayed to deprive his own Father of life ( I say nothing of his Brother, it is so well known ) and that too in the presence of his victorious Army, could spare his Brother but for an hour, especially having brought the Army so much to his side, that they published

*Geta*



*Geta*, both his, and the States Enemy. However *Herodian*, saith *Salmasius*, a writer of those very times, and *Dio Cassius* twice Consul of *Rome*, both *Grecians*, say *Geta* was killed at *Rome* in the Palace, and almost in the bosom of his Mother. Were it not for other and more weighty circumstances in the whole narration, considering withall *Antoninus* his violent temper, I could easily be enclined to favour this suspicion of *Geta* and *Papinianus* being put to death at *York*. For there also was a *Palatium*, or *domus Palatina*; and their mother *Julia* was there in *Britain* at the same time. Out of (a) *Herodian* this is not obscurely to be gathered, but (b) *Dio* witnesses it with a pretty passage, which he tells happened between her, and a high spirited British Lady, the wife of *Argencecocus*. But here we will omit farther disquisition, though it be not impertinent at all to this place.

(a) *Herodian. Hist. lib. 3. fin.*  
(b) *Dio Hist. lib. 76.*

The fame, and known wisdom of *Papinian*, wherever dead, procured so high *Elogies* to his Name, that nothing can be conceived above them. (c) *Zosimus* saies he was a most just man, and one that excelled all *Roman* Lawyers both before his time, and ever since, as well in the right interpretation, as knowledge of the Laws. But (d) *Spartian* calls him the *Asylum*, or Sanctuary of Right, and the very Magazine of Law-learning. Now concerning the cause of his death, and the manner thereof, Authors do somewhat differ. (e) *Zosimus* tells us, that when he was Captain of the Guard, (if at least we do well in rendring *Præfectus Prætorio* in those words) he was held in great suspicion by *Antoninus*, for no other cause, but for that he, observing him to bear a deadly disaffection toward his Brother *Geta*, did what he could to hinder his designs, and preserve *Geta*. Therefore that *Antoninus* to remove this block out of his way, by the Souldiers plotted *Papinians* death; and so having gained opportunity flew also his Brother. *Spartian* writes he was beheaded with an Ax in *Antoninus* sight, because he would not excuse *Geta's* death: by which relation, his murder should seem to precede *Papinians*; contrary to what *Zosimus* delivers. (f) *Dio* tells us that *Antoninus* was much offended with the Soldier who put *Papinian* to death with the Ax, being ordred to do it with the sword. In old time malefactors were beheaded with the Ax; afterwards with the Sword. This punishment seemed the lighter, and more honorable. Hear *Boethius*: *Papinianum diu inter Aulicos patentem militum gladiis Antoninus objecit*, He exposed *Papinian* to the Swords of the Soldiers.

(c) *Zosim. Hist. lib. 1.*

(d) *Spartian, in Caracalla.*

(e) *Zos. uti supra.*

(f) *Dio lib. 72.*

For SEVERUS times, thus much of EBORACUM. Which whether it became polluted with the blood of this brave and innocent man, and a great part of that Sacred JUSTICE which yet remained upon earth in his dayes; or else *Rome*, had not now, as you see, been first of all brought in question. But for us, let *Rome*, as it had rather, take all the glory thereof to it self; and for joy it quits us of such bloody deeds, I leave those



those infected times, if first you will give me leave a little to parodyze:

(g) Ex Ovidio  
Metam. lib. 10.

(g) Gratulor extremo, nostro jam gratulor orbi;  
Gratulor hinc terræ, quod abest regionibus illis,  
Quæ tantum fecere nefas——

I joy for you *Ismarians*; for this Clime;  
This World of ours; so distant from that Earth,  
That gave to such a cursed Monster birth.

AFTER SEVERUS, for the space of about one hundred years, there is no mention in antient memories made of EBORACUM; onely as I shewed, in this mean while the VI. Legion still continued their old abode there. Fl. Val. Constantius, surnamed *Chlorus*, whose residence was more (b) constantly in Britain, made it again an Imperial Seat, having (i) recovered Britain from servitude to liberty; having been first long usurped by the thirty Tyrants, ( whence the famous (k) Porphyry called it, *fertilem provinciam tyrannorum*: ) after by *Carausius* and *Allectus*; the later of whom he vanquished, sending before him *Asclepiodotus*, who had the command of the Guard, or Prætorian Souldiers, with part of the Navy and Legions. Concerning their Passage hither, who pleases may read the nameless \* *Panegyrick* made to him, being the tenth amongst them, by *Liveneius* reckoning. He was where ere he came a great Favourer of Christianity, and those that professed it. Therefore the Scottish (l) Historians censure of him is very unchristian, and argues their ignorance or malignity, or both; who asperse him in this respect, and would make us think he persecuted them of Our Religion: Contrary to the general testimonies of Christians themselves, who lived either in his own time, or at least in the ages next to him. For his Actions in the Province, as also for the time for which he was *Augustus*, or Emperour (about which there is no light mistake even among the learned) \* I will refer you to a work, and place, more proper for them. Onely till then take what follows out of the Panegyrist concerning his expedition into Britain: *Dies me ante deficiet quam oratio; si omnia patris tui facta vel hac brevitate percurram.* That is, If I should but thus concisely mention all thy fathers Gests, the day would sooner come to an end than my oration. ( They make *Eumenius* an Orator of *Augustodunum* or *Flavia* in France, to speak this to *Constantine* the Great, the Son of this *Constantius*, of whom here we treat ) *Cujus & jam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropæa (ut vulgo \* certum est) expetivit, sed, Diis jam vocantibus, ad intimum terrarum limen accessit: neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis, non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum silvas & paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam,*

(h) Zosim. Hist.  
lib. 2. ουρε-  
χέτης ενδου-  
κων εν Βρεταν-  
νία.

(i) Liberavit  
ille Britannias  
servitute. Panegyr.  
cujus Princip.  
Diximus lib.  
cet. Et alibi Panegyr.  
cujus Pr.  
Vnde mihi Recuperavit ille Britanniam.

(k) Apud D.  
Hieron. ad Ctesiphont.  
adversus Pelagium, ex  
quo etiam sumpsit  
Gildas noster. Vide Luc.  
Hollsten. Desert. de  
scriptis Porphyrii pag. 15. 16.

\* Cujus Pr. Si mihi Caesar.

(l) Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 16.

\* Interim tu, Lector, adi V. Clariss. Stephan. Claverium ad Claudiani 2. in Eutropium; nec. non Coronidem ejus Miscellan. ad eundem, initio.

\* creditum.



mam, nec ipsas (si quæ sunt) Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur acquirere; sed (quod eloqui nemini voluit) iturus ad Deos genitorem illum Deorum, ignea cæli astra refoventem, prospexit Oceanum, ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, jam videret illic diem pæne continuum. Vere enim profecto illi Superum Tempia patuerunt, receptusque est confessu Cælitum, Jove ipso dexteram porrigente. That is, And now whose last expedition was not to the British Tropæa's (as it goes current commonly) but by the call of the Gods he came to the innermost Port of the Countreys; for he, having performed so many Acts, neither deigned (I do not say the *Chaledonian* and *Picton* Woods and Moors, but not) so much as to attempt *Ireland* that lay next, nor *Thule* the furthest, nor those (if there be any such) fortunate Islands; But (which he would tell no body) being on his journey to the Gods, saw that Father of the Gods *Oceanus* recruiting the fiery Stars of heaven, as being about to enjoy continual light; and now he observed that it was almost perpetually day there. For indeed to him did the Temples of the Gods truly ly open, and he was received by the consent of all the heavenly inhabitants, *Jupiter* himself giving him his right hand. In this place, and elsewhere too, surely he speaks of the *Apotheosis* of *Constantius* celebrated in Britain; which the coyns also do witness, saith our diligent and learned Antiquary. Whether that which follows be any of the fashion he had, I cannot certainly affirm. It was digged up lately within a mile of *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, at the end of *Comb-lane* in a gravel-pit. The Urn in which it was, contained more of his, as also of *Dioclesian*, the *Maximiani*, *Constantinus Caesar*, who afterward was called the *Great*, *Maximinus*, &c. It seemes by this, that on *Comb-Downes*, or Hill, was a Camp, or station of *Roman* Souldiers; and of such especially, as I may well conjecture, who following *Asclepiodotus* from \* *Portsmouth* up toward *London*, might sit down here, and continue still till after *Constantius* daies, to keep all here away quiet. But see the Coyn, stamped, as appears at *London*.

\* *μῆγας λιμὲς*  
*Portus Magnus*,  
*Ptol.* See the  
forecited *Panegyric* where  
it speaks of the  
Iland *Vesta*, and  
so forwards.



I have since light upon another coyn of his, with the very same inscription in the periphery, or compass of it: but the letters, in the bottom of that *Tabulatum*, or structure (which also

it



it self somewhat differs from this: ) you have somewhat changed: C. for N. so that you are to read, *Pecunia Londinii cusa*, for *Notata*: as I think it is here. Let the studious youth take the pains to compare these with the *Apotheosis* of *Severus* at *Rome*, described by (a) *Herodian*; according to the fashion of those daies. Some difference will be found: as his having but one *Eagle*, and that to convey the Soul upward, in the top of the † *Structure*; which he compares to a *Light-house*, commonly a *Pharos*: In these you have on each side one. Other differences are not material. I am confident there may be more remains of Antiquity found hereabout: it would be perhaps not unworthy the pains and cost. The noble \* *Gentleman*, whose the place is, might be by his acquaintance easily perswaded to a farther search; being one (publick fame reports it:) that doth nothing unwillingly for the common Good; which he lately let the world know in that Honorable and free service, which with so much gallantry he sustained for his Countrey.

*Rome* in the height of its greatnesse had not a more glorious and gallant shew to exhibite, then what this poor piece of Copper would expresse. But before I mention *Constantius* his Deification, I should have acquainted you with the place of his death, which was *Eboracum*. Not onely (b) *St. Hieron*, but *Eutropius* also, an Heathen Roman Historian, affirmeth it: *Obiit in Britannia Eboraci, principatus anno tertio decimo, atque inter divos relatus est*. If therefore he dyed at *Tork*, most certainly there also was his body solemnly burnt. And if so; how comes it to pass, that so many ages after we find his body again in *Wales*, and so far remote too? The good Monk of *Westminster* is Author for it, where he *Chronicles* matters of *Edward I.* times: (c) *Apud Caernarvan \* prope Snoudunam, corpus maximi Principis, Patris Imperatoris nobilis Constantini, erat inventum, & rege jubente in Ecclesia honorifice collocatum.*

But the credulous Monk was abused: as we should be also, if we gave credit to one far antienter then he, *Ninnyus* the old British Historian, who relates that this mans Grandchild, *Constantius* the Son of *Constantinus*, had his Sepulcher near *Caernarvan*; as saith he, letters inscribed upon his Tomb-stone there do witness: When as we know, by unquestionable circumstance; as well as authority, that he breathed his last in *Cilicia*, at *Mopsocrenæ*, or \* *Mopsuestia*, of a fever in his expedition (d) against *Julian* his Kinsman, who in *Gaul* had taken upon him the Name and Title of *Augustus*.

That which our learned Antiquary saith, he was told by very credible men of this City, carrieth greater shew of probability; That when in the age before this, the Religious houses there were dissolved and ruine<sup>d</sup>, in a kind of grot, or vault, where constant fame reported the Reliques of *Constantius* were laid, a burning

(a) *Herodian. Hist. lib. 4.*

† *οἶκημα*, & *κατασκευασμα*. *Herod.*  
\* *φουκάειον*, *eidem.*

\* *Daniel Harvey Esq;* of *Comb-Nevil*, neer *Kingston.*

(b) *Hieronym. in Chronico. Eutrop. Hist. Rom. lib. 10.*

(c) *Math. West. qui & Florilegus ad an. 1283.*  
\* *Vide SEGON- TIUM Itin. 12.*

\* *A Mopso Hero*  
*Μόψο ἑστία*  
*διστα.*

(d) *Amm. Marcellin. Hist. li. 21.*



burning Lamp was found. And withall he adds, that the Antients used to preserve in the Sepulchres, especially of greater persons, by artificial dissolving of Gold into a fatty substance; fire still continuing for many ages: And for this he bringeth the testimony of *Wolfagius Lazius*. Divers other writers might have been consulted about this custome; I will onely name two for the Readers satisfaction; *Bernardus Scardeonius*, a diligent *Italian* Antiquary, and *Fortunius Licetus*, an excellent *Philosopher* of *Padua*. The death of *Constantius* happened about the year CCCVI when as at *Tork* also his eldest Son *Constantinus* of British extraction by *Helen* his first Wife, much opposing and gain-saying it, had the Imperial Robe put upon him by the Army, which at length he could not but accept of. He that especially urged him to it was (e) *Erocius* King of the *Almaines*, and auxiliary to his Father in Britain. Hear the (f) *Panegyrist* speaking to him; *Imperator transitum facturus in cælum, videt quem relinquebat heredem: illico enim atque illæ terris fuerat, exemptus, universus in te consedit exercitus; te omnium mentes oculique signarunt: & quamquam in ad Seniores principes de summa reipub. quid fieri placeret retulisses, prævenierunt tamen studio, quod illi mox iudicio probaverunt. Purpuram statim tibi, quum primus copiam tui fecit egressus, milites, militate publicæ magis quam tuis affectibus servientes, injecere lacrymanti; neque enim fas erat diutius fieri principem consecratum. Diceris etiam, Imp. invictæ, ardorem illum te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse: quod quidem (ut verum audias) adolescentiæ errore faciebas: Quis enim te *Cyllarus*, aut *Arion*, posset eripere, quem sequebatur imperium? Illa, inquam, illa majestas, quæ *Jovis* subiecta nutu nec *Iridi* Deum nuntia, sed prius commissa victoriæ, tam facile te comitata est, quam cito ad terras cælo missa perveniunt. Sic, modestiam tuam atque pietatem, & differendi imperii conatus ostendit, & reip. felicitas vicit. O fortunata, & nunc omnibus beatior terris *Britannia*, quæ *Constantinum* Casarem prima vidisti.* That is, When the Emperour was about to pass from earth to heaven, he saw whom he left his heir; for presently upon his being taken from the Earth, the whole Army pitcht upon thee, the eyes and hearts of all designed thee for the place: and although thou repairedst to the Senior Princes for the ordering (as they pleased) the chief dignity of the Commonwealth; yet they came præ-resolved, by study, of what they soon acted in the Counsel. Presently when thy first going out made plenty, the Souldiers, serving the Commonwealth more than thy fancy, cast the purple upon thee, whilest weeping: nor was it meet that a consecrated Prince should be any longer bewailed. And they say also, O unconquered Emperour, that thou didst spur thy horse to have avoided the importunity of the Army, when they moved for thee, which (to tell you truly) was done but weakly, and as a youth. For what *Cyllarus* or *Arion* could

(e) *Victorin. in Epitom. Caesar.*  
(f) *Panegyrici hujus, cujus Pr. Facerem. Eumenium auctorem volunt.*

deprive



deprive him whom the Empire followed? That, I say that, Majesty which is subject to the nod of *Jove* was not committed to *Iris* the Messenger of the Gods, but first to *Victoria*, so easily did she accompany thee, as soon as things sent from Heaven come to Earth. So did thy endeavour of avoiding that dignity shew, and the felicity of the Common-wealth overcome thy modesty. O Fortunate, and now of all Nations most happy Britain, who first sawst *Constantine* Emperour. These last words our Britains produce, to assert the birth place of *Constantine*, neither without great probability; notwithstanding that (a) *Joannes Livineius* doth urge this additament [*Cæsaris*] against them: (b) *quod illum ipsum premit maxime*, saith my most learned Lord of *Armagh*. For although *Constantine* were declared *Imperator* in Britain, both † by his Father, and the British Army; yet not Britain but *Gallia* saw him first *CÆSAR*: which *Livineius* his (c) *αἰσχυρος* proves at large. Somewhat before, he makes his addressees to him in these Words: *Sacrum istud Palatium, non candidatus Imperii, sed designatus intrasti; confestimque te illi paterni Lares successorem videre legitimum. Neque enim erat dubium quin ei competeret hæreditas, quem primum Imperatori filium fata tribuissent. Te enim tantum ille, & Imperator in terris, & in cælo Deus, in primo ætatis sue flore generavit, toto adhuc corpore vicens, illa præditus alacritate ac fortitudine, quam bellis plurima, præcipue campi Vindonis idonei testes declararunt. Inde est quod tanta ex illo in te forma similitudo transivit, ut signate Natura vultibus tuis impressa videatur.* Thou entrest that sacred Pallace not dignified with, but designed to the Empire: And thy Fathers gods presently saw thee to be his right and lawful Successor. Nor was it any doubt but the Inheritance should belong to him whose fortune it was to be first Son to the Emperor. For he, that Emperor, on earth, and God in the heavens, begot thee in the very flower of his youth, whilst his whole body was vivid and strong, indued with alacrity and fortitude, which many wars, especially that of the *Vindonian* Camp, have fitly testified. Hence it is that thou retainest so perfect a similitude of him, that thy original is even plainly stamped in thy face.

It hath been the strange fate of two Roman Emperours, the one as bad as the very worst, (I except not *Nero*;) the other to be ranked with the best, That their birth-places are exceeding questionable; not yet quite cleared by the diligent enquiry and search into antient Memories by learned men. They are *Caius Caligula*, and this *Constantine*, called the Great. Of the former see *Justus Lipsius* to the famous *Annals*. The long entertained belief of this others Britain-birth and original, was first of all made doubtfull, and impugned too by the same (g) *Lipsius*, and such as follow him, (h) *Joannes Livineius*, (i) *Stephanus Claverius*, *Dionysius Petavius*, with some others. But the autho-

(a) Io. Livin. in Panegy. 5.

(b) D. Armachan. de Primord. Eccles. Britan. cap. 8. † Julian. Cæsar. Orat. I. ad Constantium. F.

(c) Just. Lipsius not. in Admir. lib. 4. cap. 11.

(g) Lips. ubi Supra.

(h) Livin. in Panegy. 5.

(i) Claver. ad lib. 2. Claudiani in Eutropium, & in Coronid. Miscell. ad Claudian. cap. 2. & 3.



authorities of those they make use of among the antients, being Writers, either fowly corrupted, as *Julius Firmicus*, which appears plainly by the old MSS. or of little or no credit for their standing, (1) are so answered, weakned, and disproved: and the testimonies of old Panegyriste of the same age with him and others, so cleared in that rich (a) Storehouse of Universal knowledge, profane as well as sacred, that there is nothing left, either for another to reply, or for me to add thereto. To him therefore I refer you; and if you please, also to (b) him, then whom no man ever knew antient things better, whether domestique, or forreign.

Yet before I have done, let me acquaint you, that such Strangers, as from best & most remote authority (for what are a brace of your *Graculi* *μεταγενεσθαι*, Chroniclers but of yesterday?) besides undeniable Circumstance, do assert *Constantines* birth to be from *Britain*, make also the time thereof to be about the latter end of *Aurelian's* Empire. The whole number of the years of *Constantines* life, assigned by the Writers of that age, must needs make this good. And the *British* History is so far to be mended, as that it become suitable to this Account. I would commend but two especially to you hereabout; The most Eminent Cardinal (c) *Baronius*, to whom it is worth your while to have recourse. The other is *Abraham Bucholtzerus* in his *Chronology*; by which, saith the great \* *Thuanus*, he gained great glory; and his words are these to the CCLXXII. year of Christ: *Constantinus Magnus hoc anno in Britannia natus, patre Constantio, & matre Helena*. No man hath need to doubt, that at this time *Constantius*, who was most an end or alwaies in (e) *Britain*, as you have heard, was employed here also under (f) *Aurelian*. His nobility, and neer alliance with *Claudius*, formerly Emperor, not to speak of his prowess, and graceful personage, (d) becomming a Commander, argues how fit he was to bear rule in so turbulent a Province: And it is not to be thought that *Aurelian*, who restored every where the limits of the Empire, East and West too; (For he was *Restitutor Galliarum*, saith *Vopiscus*: *Atque pacatis Galliis undique terris terrorem iniecit*; like another *Alexander the Great*, or *Julius Caesar*, saith (e) *Victorinus*:) it is not to be thought, I say, he would neglect so considerable a Province, as *Britain* was. But that also he sent aides at the same time hither, witness the *Mauri Aureliani*; so called from him, saith (f) *Paucirolus* lying far beyond *Tork*, at *Appleby* in *Westmerland*.

But that his birth was at *Tork*, directly and not any place elsewhere, though we have no expresse proof that I know of, I mean among the Antients; yet that authority seems to be drawn from them, which the Embassadors of *England* made use of; and that in the hearing of the learned World then, both at the Council of *Constance*, in the year MCCCCXIII. as also that at

Petav. ad  
Iul. Cæs. Orat. 1.

(1) Such as are  
*Georgius Cedrenus*,  
*Nicephorus*,  
*Callistus*, and  
the like ob-  
scure and later  
Grecians.

(a) D. *Arimach.*  
*De Primord. Ec-*  
*cles. Brit. cap. 8.*  
& *Epist. illic V.*  
*S. Guil. Camd.*

(b) Io. *Selden.*  
*ad Iust. Lipsun.*

τὸν πᾶν

in *Illust. ad Mich.*

*Draioni, insignis*

*Poeta, Polyolbi-*

*on Cant. 8.*

(c) *Baron. An.*  
*Tom. 3. ad An.*  
*306. sect. 16.*

\* *Anno 1584.*

(e) *Ex Zosimo*  
*lib. 6. vide*

*Suidam in*

*κωνσταντίνου*

& *Zonar.*

(f) *Adi Ioseph.*

*Scaigerum ad*

*Euseb. an. 273.*

(d) *Περὶ τῶν*

*μὲν αἰδῶ*

*αἰδῶν τὴν ἐν*

*δῶ. Eurip.*

*apud Porphy.*

*περὶ ἐ φωνῶν.*

(e) *In Epitome*

*Cæsarum.*

(f) *Guid. Pau-*

*cirol. Comment.*

*ad Notitiam Oc-*

*cidentis cap. 89.*



Basil MCCCCXXXI. At the Council of *Constance*, there being a Contest about precedency between the French and English Embassadors, the English hath these words: *Domus regalis Anglia sanctam Helenam, cum suo filio Constantino Magno Imperatore, nato in urbe regia, Eboracensi, educere comperta est.* The Royall house of England, it is known for certain, brought forth Helena, with her Son Constantine the Great, Emperour, born in the Royall City Eboracum. The English at Basil opposing the precedency of Castile, say thus: *Constantinum illum magnum (qui primus Imperator Christianus (so are their words) licentiam dedit per universum orbem Ecclesias constituere; immensa ad hoc conferens bona: ) Peterinæ natum in Eboracensi civitate.* That Constantine (who being the first Christian Emperour, gave leave to build Churches through the world: ) was born at Peterne in the City York. By this they mean *Bedern* a Colledge of Vicars there, sometime serving the Quire; which, as also Christ-Church (called in antient Charters, *Ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis in Curia Regis:* ) is verily thought to have been part of the Imperial Palace in old time.

After all this, the ingenuous Reader, and not captious, may easily yield way to the formerly alledged weighty testimonies (in the Panegyricks spoken to himself) for *Constantines* being born here; and among them give room likewise to these two: The first is, (g) *Liberavit ille Britannias servitute: tu etiam nobiles illic oriendo fecisti. (i. e.)* He freed the Britains from servitude, and thou hast enobled them by thy birth amongst them: Which our men do as well apply, by *Petavius* leave, to his birth here, as he doth to his first being made Emperour in Britain. The other this: (h) *Dii boni, quid hoc est, quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi nova Deum numina universo orbi colenda descendunt? Sic Mercurius à Nilo, cujus fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consociis solis orientis, deos se gentibus ostendere presentes. Sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca vicina cælo, & inde proprius a Diis mittitur Imperator, ubi terra finitur. (i. e.)* Good gods, how comes it to pass, that alwaies new Deities do come from some utmost part of the World to be worshipped by all? So *Mercurius* from *Nilus*, the head of which River is unknown; So *Bacchus* came from *India* a place near neighbouring with the rising Sun, and shewed themselves to be Gods whilest conversant with the Nations. Certainly those places being nearer the heavens are more sacred than our in-land Countreys, and from thence, it being the Lands end, and so nearer the Gods, our Emperour was sent unto us.

And now, when I shall have spoken a few words concerning the Ecclesiastical glory of *Eboracum*, as I have already many, tending to the Civil and Military renown thereof, I will have quite done with it. That it was adorned with an Episcopal Seat by *Constantius*, whom we formerly mentioned, our learned Anti-

(g) Panegyric.  
cujus Pr. Dixe-  
runt licet.

(h) Panegyric.  
cujus Pr. Face-  
rem.

quary



quary tells us *ex patriis scriptoribus*, as himself gives in his witness: *quorum nullum adhuc mihi videre contigit*, saith my Lord of Armagh. But how then could (i) *Faganus* (the Companion of *Duvianus*;) sent hither by PP. *Eleutherus* to King *Lucius*, to plant Christian Religion, be the first Archbishop thereof, which yet is related? Or how then could King *Lucius* place here one (k) *Theodosius*; which yet *William Harrison* affirms? or lastly, how could *Sampson* under the same King be Bishop of *Tork*, as it appears by *Godwin*, some have written? The first beginnings of all things are full of obscurity, and uncertainty. In all these Narrations there is no *εὐμεινία*, nothing to persuade a credit of any of them. For that of the last, *Godwin* himself holds it suspected, because at the first entertainment of Christianity among us, nor Hebrew, nor Greek names of the New Testament were so rife among the Britains. Again, this *Sampson* is more generally reserved to some ages after till King *Arthurs* time. As for the testimony concerning *Theodosius*, and the other, is so *ἀδυσπλόγητος*, without Author or Abettor of sufficient age, that it will be cast forth and rejected. Besides, though we by no means reject the story of King *Lucius*, and know, that here the Romans did permit, and had, *reges, instrumenta servitutis*, as (l) *Tacitus* speaks, *Kings in Britain, as instruments to keep the people slaves*, and themselves no better; as *Cogidunus, Venutius, Prasutagus, &c.* Yet, though *Lucius* were such a one, (for we want sufficient authority for it) we may not reasonably think, that either his Territories, or jurisdiction was so large, as in the presence of the Romans he might constitute Bishops, and Episcopal Sees; especially at *Tork*, the Imperial City then of Britain. And therefore there are, who referring the History of *Lucius* almost to *Severus* time, do leave him no place in *Britain*, except the more Northern parts beyond *Antoninus Pius* his Wall, which he made of Turfe to sever, and shut out the barbarous and unreduced Britains from the Province: induced perhaps thereto, by the authority of *Tertullian*; who indeed wrote under *Severus* and in whom you have these words: (m) *Britannorum inaccessibleia Romanis loca Christo subdita. Places in Britain not to be come at by the Romans yet made subject to Christ.* And for *Constantius Chlorus* to do any such thing, seems to me very improbable, as who died a Heathen, as you have heard formerly; albeit it is very certain he favoured the Christians, and suffered no rigour to be used toward them.

We must then seek for the first Bishop of *Tork* but not till *Constantines* daies; and we shall find him at *Arles* in the Council there held about the year CCCXIV. whither as himself writes in his Epistle to \* *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, he summoned, to hear the Cause of the *Donatists*, many Bishops from divers, almost infinite places. In the last Edition of this Council,

(i) *Anonym. qui de Archiep. Ebor. scripsit Anno 1460.*

(k) *Harris. De script. Brit. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

(l) *Tacit. in vita Agricola.*

(m) *Tertul. lib. ad versus Iudeos cap. 7.*

\* *Apud. Euseb. lib. 10. Hist. Ec. cap. 5.*



cel published by *Jacobus Sirmondus* at (n) *Paris*, among other  
(n) Pag. 9. Subscriptions thereunto, you have these out of *Britain*.

*Eborius Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.*  
*Restitutus Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provincia superscripta.*  
*Adelfus Episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium, exinde Sacer-*  
*dos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus.*

(o) *Selden. ad*  
*Eutychii Orig-*  
*ines pag. 122.*

Not but that they were put to former Editions, but they were  
such as were set forth out of corrupted Copies, that nothing  
could be made of the Subscriptions, till compared with this by  
the admired *Selden*, whose words I had rather transcribe for you  
then translate: for he that cannot understand his Latin, will  
make nothing of them in my English: (o) *In Editionibus Syno-*  
*di Arelatensis anterioribus plerisque, veluti Suriana, ac Crabbiana (qui-*  
*bis male Concilio secundo Arelatensi præfiguntur; uti etiam in Isi-*  
*doriana, nomina quæ primam spectant:)* atque etiam *Biniana, secu-*  
*ti sunt Restitutum Episcopum Londinensem, Ex provincia Biza-*  
*cena Civit. Tubernicen: Eburius Episcopus, ex eadem Provin-*  
*cia, Civitate Culucitana Adelphius; quasi uterque saltem prior,*  
*ex Africa fuisset. sed proxime præcedunt Galli; sequuntur Hispani.*  
*Et dein subjiciuntur per se Africani. Adeo ut loca ibi corrupta esse vix*  
*dubitandum sit. Nec sane adeo difficile est, ut ab imperitioribus li-*  
*brariis, Britannia fieret Bizacena, & ex Eboracensi, Tuberni-*  
*censi; Etiam & Culucitanæ initium à Colonia videtur. Certe Sub-*  
*scriptiones Conciliorum depravatissimas passim habemus. Nec præ-*  
*ter eundem, in Isidoriana collectione illa veteri, cui deest omnino Re-*  
*stitutus, reperiri Ex Bitania Eburius Episcopus; Ex civitate*  
*Culina Adelfus. Ubi Culina & Bitania, Britannia & Colonia*  
*satis proximant.*

(p) *Belluac.*  
*Speculi Hist. lib.*  
*10. cap. 76.*

(q) *Euvenx.*  
*Mediolanum*

*Aulercorum.*

*Eburovicum.*

*Ios. Scaliger*

*Notitia Gallie.*

(r) *Wern. in Fas-*

*ciculo Tempo-*

*rum.*

(s) *Sched. in*

*Chronico.*

I call this *Eborius* the first Bishop of *Eboracum*; who  
indeed was never heard of by the nameless writer of the  
lives of the Bishops of *Tork*; *Thomas Stubbs* in his Chronicle of  
them, or *Godwin* himself who wrote the Catalogue of our Bri-  
tish and English Bishops. This last reckons *Taurinus* placed  
here by *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine*. I believe he was  
deceived by *Harrison*, or both certainly by a corrupt Copy of  
(p) *Vincentius Belluacensis*, and as heedlessly read, where you have  
misprinted *Eboracensis*, for (q) *Ebroicensis* in *Gallia*. This error  
is found likewise diffused into the Writings of two good old  
Chronicling Germans; (r) *Wernerus Roulwinke de Laer*, and (s)  
*Hartman Schedel*, who no doubt took it from *Vincentius*, who was  
more then two ages before them both. But that which deserves  
to be noted in *Schedel*, is that among those, that he writes flour-  
ished in *Trojans* time; *Thaurinus Episcopus Eboracensis* is set down  
by him.

In the Subscriptions to that Council brought ere while, there  
are



are some things may be observed : As first that *York* was no Archbishoprick in those times, as neither was *Rome* it self, whence since notwithstanding we have had all Dignities, and Titles in the Church. Our (t) *Malmesbury* confesses, that in the antienter times of the Britans, it was unknown where the Archbishoprick was. At this very Council, as appears by the Nomenclature, of those that were at it, *Sylvester* the Pope is but Plain Bishop : (v) The High title of Archbishop was long time in use in the Eastern Church, before it came into the West. For whereas our \* *Beda* tells us, that *Augustine* was ordained Archbishop of the English nation by *Etherius* Archbishop of *Arles*, he follows the manner of speaking in his own times : for *Gregory* the Pope then, in his several letters written to them, affords neither of them that Title ; no not when he bestows the Pall upon *Augustine*, and gives him precedency and priority in respect of *York*, and all the other Bishops of Britain.

In the next place we may take notice, that *Eborius* Bishop of *York*, at this Council takes place of *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, where the Primacy alwaies remained till translated to *Canterbury*, as our Writers please to affirm, I know not upon what grounds. The uncomparable *Usher* (y) interprets the foregoing words of *Malmesbury* so, as that they did not quite deny Archbishops among the old Britains, ( for he proves they had : ) but that all memories were lost, where the Archiepiscopal, or Patriarchical seat resided. For although *London* be at this day, and hath been for many ages the chiefest of Britain, and were neer ∞ CCC years ago accounted (z) *vetus opidum an antient Town*, and *Augusta* ; and commended long before that, (a) as of great fame and renown, for the concourse of Merchants, and provision of all things necessary ; yet a great Scholler of late years (b) *Philip Berterius* sets down *YORK* as the more antient Metropolis of the Diocels of the Britainnies And that not only because it was a Roman Colony, which *London* was not, (c) as *Onuphrius*, contrary to so great and plain Authority of *Tacitus*, doth affirm : but also the Emperours Palace, and *Prætorium* likewise, Tribunal, or chief Seat of Judgement was there. Whence by the old (d) Historian it was called *Civitas*, by way of excellence or pre-eminency. Concerning the two other Subscriptions, I shall also take occasion to observe something, when I come to the places they belonged to. In the mean while, the name of the (e) *Deacon* here, who accompanied these Bishops is worthy the taking notice of, because it remaineth entire still in *Yorkshire*, in a very noble and religious family, after so many ages : And I wish it may continue till time be no more. I remember not at this present, the Name of any family in Europe I can compare with it, except it be the family of *Pæciaci* of *Spain*, of which famous men in *Cæsars* time, and the age after, have made

(t) *Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. Ang. lib. I. prologo.*

(v) *Henricus Spelmanus, V. doctiss. in Archaeologo. \* Beda Eccl. Hist. Anglor. lib. I. cap. 27.*

(y) *D. Usserius in Primord. pag. 97.*

(z) *Ammian. Marc. lib. I4.*

(a) *Tacit. Ann. lib. I4.*

(b) *Philip. Berterius Pithanon Diatrib. I. c. 3. fin.*

(c) *Onuphrius in Imperio Romano.*

(d) *Spartianus in Severo.*

(e) *Arminius.*



(f) Cicero in  
Epist. Auctor de  
bello Hispan. Va.  
Maximus Plu.  
in Crasso.

(g) Is. Casau. in  
Sueton. Calig.  
cap. 44.

(h) Tacit. lib. 2.  
Annal. de Ar-  
minio Cheraſc.  
principe.

(f) made mention for above ∞DCC. years ago : and that it hath continued till our age, *Manutius* and *Stephanus Pighius* do witness. And now I am more enclined, than I was before, to embrace the learned *Casaubons* conjecture, that *Adminius*, the name of a Britain Prince in *Suetonius*, is to be mended, and read *Arminius*. *Forte etiam in nomine Adminius d-pro r irrepſit : Nam in Germania & Belgio, atque, ut puto, etiam in Britannia uſitatum jam olim, ut nunc quoque, nomen fuit Arminius : vide (h) Tacitum.* Names, either common to the *Germans*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*, or not much differing, would prove a fit study to take up the time of a good Antiquary: here is no place for such speculation.

As these British Bishops were at the Council of (a) *Arles*, so is it more than probable, that they were also at the great Council of (b) *Nice*; which was held not above ten years after, or as others say, not so much; that they were at the General Synod, (so they called it) at (c) *sardica*, (d) *Athanasius* witnesses, who himself was one of them, speaking of the Bishops who met together there, saies expressly that some were present ἐξ ἐποικίας Βρετανίων, out of the Province of the Britains : although in the Title of the Epistle of the Synod it self to them of *Alexandria*, Britain be left out among the Provinces there reckoned up. *Περί τῶνς Restitutus* also is named there, but, as many others, without the place set down whereunto he belonged : yet very likely it was *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, mentioned before at the Council of *Arles*. It is probable also that *Eborius* Bishop of *York*, might be there too; though with others he be quite left out.

(e) In Eutychi-  
um. pag. 123.

(f) CCCLIIIX

(g) CCCLIX.

And now, saith the most learned (e) *Selden*, can it seem credible to any man, that Bishops out of Britain should be present in two Synods, the one not so long before that of *Nice*, the other not so long after it : and yet that in this famous one at *Nice* between them both, they should have no place : unto which notwithstanding, by the Emperours Edict, all the Bishops through the Christian World were called. (f) *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers* in *France*, not very many years after this Council, writ a Book in *Phrygia*, where he was then banished, of the Synods held against the *Arians*, which begins thus : *Dominis & beatissimis fratribus & Coepiscopis provinciae Germaniae primae & Germaniae secundae, &c. Et Provinciarum Britanniarum Episcopis ; Hilarius servus Christi in Deo & Domino nostro aeternam salutem. (i.e.)* *Hilarius*, a servant of Christ in God and our Lord, sends greeting, to the Rulers, and our blessed brethren and fellow Bishops of the Provinces of the first and second *Germany*, &c. and to the Bishops of the Province of *Britain*. The next year after this, the Bishops of *Britain* were likewise at the (g) Council of *Ariminum* in *Italy*, called by *Constantius* the son of *Constantine* : Our Author for it is *Sulpitius Severus*, from whom we may make a conjecture, what kind of men the forenamed at *Arles* were, and *sardica*, by hear-  
ing



ing the description of these, who he saies met at (b) *Ariminum*. Quo acciti aut \* *maſti* quadringenti, & aliquanto amplius, Occidentales Episcopi: quibus omnibus annonas & cellaria dare Imperator præceperat. Sed id Aquitanis, Gallis, ac Britannis indecens visum; repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumptibus vivere maluerunt. Tres tantum ex Britannia, inopia proprii, (i) publico usi sunt, cum oblatam à cæteris Collationem respuissent: sanctius putantes fiscum gravare quam singulos. (i. e.) Whither four hundred Eastern Bishops, and odde, were summoned, or, indeed, compelled; to all of whom the Emperour commanded provision to be apportioned, and Storehouses: which to those of Aquitain or Guyan, France and Britain seemed not decent; who, refusing the Kings stipends, chose rather to live upon their own purses: Only three out of Britain, for want of maintenance of their own, made use of the publique allowance; having first refused the contribution the rest offered them: thinking it fitter to ly upon the publique stock, than these private men.

(h) Sulpit. Sec. verus Hist. sacræ lib. 2.

\* Coacti. Vide Pet. Fabrum Semestrium. lib. 3. cap. 12.

(i) Levitis in sacerdotium assumptis, nulla portio data, quo liberius servirent Deo. Equidem hoc exemplum non tacitus præterierim, legendumque ministris Ecclesiarum libenter ingesserim. Etenim præcepti hujus non solum immemores,

sed etiam ignari

mibi videntur: tanta hoc tempore animos eorum habendi cupido veluti tabes incessit: inhiant possessionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt, venduntque, quæstui per omnia student. At si qui melioris propositi videntur neque possidentes, neque negotiantes, quod est multo turpius sedentes munera expectant, atque omne citæ decus mercedo corruptum habent, dumquasi venalem præferunt sanctitatem. Idem Sulpit. ibid. lib. 1.

How they were provided for at the Council upon the Emperours cost, I cannot tell: But it seems at home their allowance was not much better than those Irish Bishops, which was no more than three Milch Cowes, and in case any of them became dry, the Parishoners supplied them again; as their own relation was to Adam of Breme in Germany; whom they took in their way from Italy homeward. I may fit both with that excellent character of those poor Countrey Bishops of Italy in Ammianus Marcellinus, an Heathen Historian (k) Quos tenuitas edendi, potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, & supercilia humum spectantia perpetuo Numini verisque ejus cultoribus, ut puros commendabant, & verecundos; (i. e.) Whom their spare diet and most abstemious drinking, the meanness of their apparel, their countenances conversing so much with the ground, and alwaies looking to God, and his true Worshipers, commended as pure and meek. Not but that then there were swaggering Bishops, and far unlike these, as appears also in him.

(k) Ammian. lib. 27.

Thus much, (upon occasion of mentioning EBORIUS Bishop of York, hitherto unknown to our History) Concerning the antient Britain Bishops; men of a more golden, and godly age, then we have known.

But these are dangerous examples to urge for imitation, or practise in our daies. I have therefore instanced in them but sparingly, and scarce let them speak in English. What have we to do with Bishops? will they say, who I fear are neither so painful, or so poor; I am sure not so humble.

I will



(1) Sen. ad Gal-  
lion. fr. de vita  
beata cap. I.

I will have done because I will not τὴν σφηνίδα ἐρεδίζην. If they therefore, or any other whatsoever, think this last part, or any else, in this Discourse; which I have intended to recover the old glory of *Eboracum*, too tedious; let them read nothing at all of the whole, and by that means make it the more compendious. I ever thought with the wiseman: (1) and *vulgus non tam Coronam, quam Chlamydatos appello.*

———*Equitem mihi plaudere curo.*

To my applause a Herald do provide.

### DERVENTIONE M. P. VII. ]

Vide BONIVM.  
Itin. II.

(a) Beda Eccles.  
Hist. Angl. lib.  
2. cap. 9.

(b) Vocabulum  
quidem haud

Beda seculo no-  
tum quo tamen

Principis per-  
cussor significa-  
tur. Adi Clarif.

Spelmanum in  
Archeologo. Vi-  
de infra.

\* Sicam toxica-  
tam.

\* Mat. Paris an.  
MDL. Hos tam

Saraceni, quam  
Christiani Af-  
fissinos appellant

Etymologiam  
nominis penitus  
ignorantes.

As this for one; and Beda tells us this story. (a) In the year of Christ IOXXVI. Eumerus, as an (b) Affassin was dispatched by William King of the West-Saxons, to Edwin King of Northumberland, with an intent to deprive him of Kingdome, as well as life; having with him a two-edged weapon \*empoisoned; that if the wound would not speed him, the poison might. He came to him, saies he, *juxta amnem Doroventionem, ubi tunc erat Villa Regalis*; and pretending a Message to him, drawing his tool when he saw his time, he made an attempt upon the Kings person with that violence, that he wounded the King through the very body of one of his Guard, who slept between for his safely, yet without any danger of the Kings life: the faithfull Souldier lost his, and the \* Affassin or Murtherer was soon dispatched by the rest of the Guard.

You see here, how Beda names this River *Doroventio*, which otherwise is *Derwentio*, or *Derwent*; as he doth likewise *Canterbury*, *Dorobernia*; which to Ptolemy, and Antonine, is *Darvernum*, or *Durarvernum*. However our Antiquaries deduce the name so, as that it signifies *The White Water*. For that *Deur-guent*, is as



as much as *aqua alba*, the learned Cambro-Britan, (a) *Humphrey Lhuyd*, is sufficient witness: though indeed when he saies so, he speaks not of this, but of another *Derwent*, which runs by *Darby*. But there are stranger readings of it, then this of *Beda*, and in old Books too: By (b) *Ninnius* an old Britain Historian, in a written Copy, it is called *Fluvius de Revent*, by a mistake undoubtedly: as you have it likewise printed in an old (c) Edition of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, (d) *Deriment: Vortuerus*, saith he, *pugnabat contra Saxones super fluvium Deriment*. Indeed there were, saith he, many Rivers in Britain of the same, and a like name, which as the onely cause, hath made (e) learned men, as we shall see, wide the whole Heaven and Earth in search of this station; never observing the account of *Itinerary* distance, a thing most to be observed: though the numbers truly sometimes are very corrupt.

(a) *Lhuyd. Breviar. Descript. Britan.*

(b) *Ninn. MS. in Bib. D. Ar-machani.*

(c) *Parif. per Iod. Badium Ascensum.*

(d) *Galsfrid. Monmouth. Hist. Britan. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

(e) *In Cambria est fluvius, cui nomen Derwent juxta Reswike, & ibi Derwent, tellus ubi cuprum effoditur. Ioan. Radclif. in annot. ad Talbotum.*

† *Ianus Rutgers. Variar. lib. 3. cap. 13.*

But that it is no where to be found, but here, divers good reasons meeting together do more then perswade. First, The almost exact distance, and constantly so written down in the *Itinerary*, as it is observed to be at this day. Next, the station, and Rivers being both of the same Name, a thing not strange to † either *Greeks* or *Romans*: and frequently to be taken notice of in old Chorographical Descriptions. Then the present name at this day *Aldby*; which our Antiquary renders out of the Saxon, *Antiqua habitatio*, argues that in much elder times there was here some antienter City, or Station; as you may also see in *Aldbourow*, next before *York*, as this is next after, formerly called *Isurium*: and many places besides in this work. I might very well adde hereto, among other reasons, such remains of Antiquity, as do yet appear about the place, which do yet plainly testifie the residence of a *Præfectus* here, and company of Souldiers, in the *Romans* time; which the *Notitia* also mentions: The words of our learned Antiquary, who also was an eye witness, are these: *Ibi nonnulla vetustatis indicia, & in Editiori ad flumen colle antiqui castri extant adhuc rudera.*

All this put together, serves to disprove the Wild and extravagant dreams of such, (f) as search for *Derwentio* at *Darby*, for some small agreement in the first syllable of the names; when (besides the irreconcilable distance:) according to the old writing of the English [*Deoraby*] in *Fabius Etheloeardus*, there is no consonancy at all. Yet this opinion is followed by *Talbot*, and *Lhuyd*. *Harrison* hath set down *Tadcaster* to *Derwentio*, in both his Editions of *Antoninus*: and it seems he followed *Leland*. No reckoning to be had of such Conjectures. All being fowly out.

+ *Darby Hill by Darby, over against*

(f) *Talbotus, Lhuyd. & quæ eorum sequaces.*

*Little Chester where the Ro: station, (par-Don me, all-searching Burton) was. the*

*Hill is on one side of Derwent, & Chester on y other, where*

*DE L-much Roman coine hath been found*

*¶ incolam Derbyensem*



## DELGOVITIA M. P. XIII.]

This Mansion hath not sped so well as the foregoing *Derventio*; none of the Antients, except here, making any mention of it. No not so much as our good *Beda*. Our learned Antiquary therefore hath shewed very good judgement in describing the ground, where-nigh it stood of yore. And though the name be lost in *Beda*; yet by the light he borrows out of him, we have a neer ken of the place where some time of old it had its being. Let us therefore first hear *Beda*, and by some observations taken from him, I hope we shall find out *Delgovitia*. He then tells his story thus briefly: (g) *Eadwin* King of Northumberland entring into a serious Deliberation with his Noblemen, and other his chief Subjects, concerning the entertaining of the Gospel, preached in these parts by *Paulinus*, the first Bishop of *York* among the *Saxons*, he that shewed himself most for ward to abolish Idolatry, was *Coyfi* a chief Priest, and observer thereof, having first gained liberty of the King for the same purpose. The place where he first executed this his so earnestly sought for power, to the great astonishment of the vulgar, who thought he had been mad. *Beda* thus describes: *Ostenditur, autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eboraco ad Orientem amnem Doroventionem, & vocatur hodie Gotmundin Gaham, ubi Pontifex ille, inspirante Deo vero polluit ac destruxit eas, \* quas ipse sacraverat, aras*. Observe first from his words, that it was, *locus quondam Idolorum*; and they may be meant as well of *Roman* Idols as *Saxon*. Now *Delgovitia*, being rightly deduced, as our learned Antiquary informs us, of the old British word *Delgive*, which signifies *Deorum Gentilium statuas*, (and I find elsewhere in their language *delio* for an image or Statue: ) we may well collect, that it was this place of Idols described in *Beda*, especially if we consider the situation of both in the same distance and Tract: That of *Delgovitia* in *Antonine* somewhat about XX. miles from *York*: VII thence to *Derventio*, then XIII. to *Delgovitia*: and that in *Beda*, *non procul ab Eboraco ad Orientem amnem Doroventionem*. Here note, that *York* was the best known place by which to find out that place he aims at; which he, as you see, calls in his times *Godmundingham*, at this day *Godmanham*, almost in the same sense as *Delgovitia*: rendred *Deorum Fanum*, sive *Habitatio*. And whereas he sets down the site thereof by the River *Derventio* running from the East, we are, ( the place being indeed a good way distant from it : ) to make no more of that, but that it was the notedst River neer it. Neither was *Beda* any more, then I, any diligent *αὐτίματος*, or eye-witness, of his own Chorographical Descriptions. Every one knowes, how constantly close he kept to his Monastery: But well may his *non procul* be

ex-

(g) *Beda Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

\* *Locus Virgil. Æn. 2. vers. 501. 502.*



excused for denoting XX. miles, when far longer distances are expressed by *Not far*. One notable one I bear in mind out of the (a) Greek Historian of the Emperours. It is where he gives notice of *Severus* fear, least while himself being busied with Wars in the East, *Albinus*, then in Britain, might take possession of *Rome*, *not far*, saith he, *distant thence*. And yet this distance; I know not how well measured by some, is made neer upon a (b) thousand Miles. The even distance, and upon the matter quite answerable by Itinerary account, suites exceedingly well here: which it would by no means do, if *Delgovitia* had ever been *Wenbridge*, (be it where it will; for I know not yet:) which (c) *Harrison* however, and that upon second thoughts too, hath not doubted to publish; I am afraid, too unadvisedly.

(a) *Herod. lib. 2.*  
ἐ πολὺν ἀφε-  
σῶσαν.

(b) *Vetus Itin.*  
*Impres. Anglicæ*  
ante CC annos  
Londinii.

(c) *Harris. in*  
*utraque Anto-*  
*nini edit. ad cal-*  
*cem librorum*  
*ejus Descripti.*  
*Britanniæ.*

PRÆTORIUM M. P. XXV.]

It will be required, that I speak in the first place concerning the various acceptions of the word, or name; whereby this Mansion is called. *Prætorium* then was in the *Roman* Camp the place where the Generals Pavilion was pitched, whether he were Consul, or as *Prætor*: the Preparation and Furniture of which, after their excessive enrichment by the Conquest of *Asia*, was such, that their very (d) Poets scoffed at the *Musive* work of the pavements, the Canopies, the looking glasses, and other unnecessary implements carried up & down with the Baggage of the Army: *Josephus* compares it to a *Temple* for magnificence. And when it signified so, *Polybius*, and the Greek Historians, render it by *σεπήγιον*.

(d) *Horat. Juve-*  
*nal. non uno loco*

Out of the like affectation of magnificence they came at length to call their Country houses, or dwellings for pleasure, *Prætoria* also. In former times they named them *villæ*. In (e) *Seneca* you may see the description of such a one belonging to *Servilius Vatia*, whom thence he stiles *divitem Prætorium*. This may elsewhere appear. For *Spelunca*, a Mannour House of *Tiberius* by the Sea side, which is termed plainly *Villa* in (f) *Tacitus*, is the very same in (g) *Suetonius*, according to the use of that age he wrote in, called *Prætorium*. And so were all the nearer *villæ*, and not of rustical employment.

(e) *Sen. Epist.*  
55.

(f) *Tacit. An-*  
*nal. 4. ad quem*  
*adit Lipsium.*

(g) *Sueton. in*  
*Tiberio cap. 39.*

*Prætorium*, in another sense, is as much as *δικαστήριον*, a place of Judicature, or, as in our English Bibels you have it translated, *Judgment Hill*, from \* *Περίτωριον* (called also *Περίηριον* in more Barbarous writers:) retained in the Greek Text both by *S. John*, and *Luke* in the later of whom you shall find (h) *Herods* *Περίτωριον*; (if we should not rather understand the Prison-house belonging thereto:) as he was made King of the Jews by *Augustus*; otherwise he had nothing to do with the Roman affairs in the Province: How great a favour it was in the Provinces to be

\* *Prætorium, ut*  
*κρίσιμα, σε-*  
*δέριον, κήρυ-*  
*σας, &c. in*  
*Gr. quoque con-*  
*textu aservata,*  
*cum sint iamen*  
*Latina.*

(h) *Act. 23. 34.*



(i) *Quam in suo  
Consulatu, Rex  
& amicus à Se-  
natu appellatus  
esset. Cæsar*  
Com. I.  
(k) *Tacit. An-  
nal. 14.*  
(l) *Tacit. in  
Agricola.*  
(m) *Iohn 18.  
28, 33.  
Io. 19. 9.*

(n) *Tacit. An-  
nal. 15.*

(o) *Apud Ta-  
citi in vita  
Agricolæ.*

graced with the stile of *King*, either by the Senate, or the Prince, every one knows, that doth also the History of *Massinissa*, or (i) *Ariovistus*; or else at home, the relations in *Tacitus* of (k) *Prasutagus*, and (l) *Cogidumus*; (if perhaps, as some have thought they be not the same:) For, as *Tacitus* doth truly observe, the Romans had every where *instrumenta servitutis etiam Reges*. But the chief power was Roman, which resided in the person of *Pontius Pilatus*, who had likewise his (m) *Prætorium*, being then Governour of *Judea*, [*ἡγεμονεύοντι*] saith the Text; which the old Interpreter renders by *Procurare*, contrary to his custome; who still uses to translate *ἡγεμόνα* into *Præsidentem*: except you will say his Copy had *ἐπικρατοῦντι*, which we find by the divers Readings to remain yet in some books. For indeed *Pilate* was not in *Judea*, with the power of a *Præses*, or *Legatus pro Prætor*, which are all one; but onely as a *Steward*, or *Procurator*: as it was usual also in other less considerable Provinces, which the authority of *Tacitus* sufficiently confirms: (n) *Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat*. True it is the Government of the Provinces was divers, accordingly as they were either belonging to *Cæsar*, or the Senate. Let us hear *Tacitus* concerning *Britain* reduced into the form of a Province: in him the *Britans* thus complain: (o) *Singulos sibi olim Reges fuisse nunc binos imponi, è quibus Legatus in sanguinem, Procurator in bona viret: æque discordium præpositorum, æque concordiam subjectis exitiosam: alterum manus, centuriones, alterum vim & Contumelias miscere*: That “whereas in former times they had onely one King, now were “there two thrust upon them, The Lievtenant to suck their “blood, the Procurator their substance, whose disagreeing “was the torment of the Subjects, their agreement their un- “doing; the one vexing by Souldiers and Captains; the other “by wrongs and indignities.

Now whêreas we have sufficiently shewed, in the foregoing discourse about *EBORACUM*, both out of *Spartian* and otherwise, that the Chief *Prætorium* in *Britain*, from before *Severus* times and long after, was at *York* under the power of the several *Legati Augg.* for the time being; I cannot see what should hinder us, why we may not think, that the respective *Procuratores* also may not have had their residence here at *Prætorium*. And that not without very good reason too. For, as *Ulpian* the Lawyer tells us, all waies and journeys ending most commonly at the Sea, or at least great Rivers; and the whole *ductus*, or Tract of this journey leading to the Sea side, (which others not observing have fowly mist their way:) whom may I better conceive to have had his abode there, then the *Procurator*, notwithstanding that all memories thereof are quite extinguished by the all-whelming deluge of Time. All yearly  
Pensions,



Pensions, Tributes, or Customs, from this part of the Island being by this journey, from the very Bound of the Empire, conveyed hither unto him, as to the most convenient place for exportation, and dispatch to Rome. And therefore with very good reason, as I believe, did our great Antiquary assign the ancient being of *Prætorium* at *Patrington* in *Holderness*, neer to the Sea side, neer upon the (a) Promontory now called the *Spur-head*. And whereas formerly he thought (b) *Petuaria* in *Ptolemy* the same with this *Prætorium*, upon second thoughts he let quit this conjecture: which I believe he needed not; but rather to have suspected *Ptolemy's* text for some corruption, not unlike that in the English. That *Prætorium* was at *Patrington* the proportionable distance from *Delgovitia*, or *Godmondham* very powerfully argues. There is indeed some difference in the number of miles, but those copies which have XXV. best serve to make the particular numbers to agree with the Summary in the head of the journey: the others have but XXII. less suiting with the distance from *Delgovitia* to *Patrington*. Which name, if it seem to any not handsomely made from *Prætorium*, let them consider also, saith *Camden*, that the *Italians* from *Prætorium* there have made *Petrouina*. I might adde that (c) *Prætorium* in *Pannonia*, hath its name at this day far worse interpolated into *Prodanich*. In the Provinces both East, and West, very many Stations that bear this name, are to be met with. The Natives of the place glory much of what our *Prætorium* hath been in old time, and no less of the ancient commodiousness of the Haven. Now they may also of the prospect into the most pleasant green fields in *Lincoln-shire* on the other side the water, and the open view of the main Ocean; into which (d) *Ptolemy's* *Abus*, which at this day we call *Humber*, in great state exposes it self.

To tell you how pittifully learned men have been mistaken in assigning the ground where this *Prætorium* of old had its standing, without having the least heed to Itinerary distance, which shamefully most an end they neglect, were to press upon your patience. My own pains however I will not spare: perhaps it may delight some to know this too. *Talbot* then in the first place would have it to be *Chester*; (e) contrary to what you shall see his judgement to be in the following journey: next upon other thoughts he will have it to be *Coventry*: it being called so, as he deemed, from the *Procurators*, or some other Magistrates, meeting there *ad Coventus agendos*. I save confuting him, onely repeat his own words: *Hæc conjecturarum nostrarum somnia prodimus, non in iis sessuri, sed libentius cessuri, assurrecturique si quis meliora ac solidiora protulerit.* (i. e.) I onely deliver these things by conjecture, not affirming them as certain, but ready to yield and joyn with any that shall find out more solid and substantial grounds. *Harrison*, in both the Copies of *Antoninus* published

(a) *Ὀρεπίον*  
olim *Ptol.* dictum, cujus nominis hodieque vestigia in *Kel.* oppido maritimo, ad ipsum promontorium adhuc visendum  
(b) *Πετσαεία*,  
in *Parisis* *Albionis*.

(c) *Ioseph. Mo-*  
*let us ad Ptol.*  
*Geograph. lib. 2.*  
& *Ios. Simler.*  
*ad Antoninum.*

(d) *Ἀβός*.  
*Ptol. unde Brit.*  
*Avon, quod caput, sive os fluminis denotat.*

(e) *Talbot. in*  
*Iter. II. in DE-*  
*V. A. v. Camd.*  
*in Cornaviis.*



published by him, hath *Tudford*, whereto indeed I cannot readily direct you. The learned *Fulk* and others, have *Liecester*, *Barlon-Stader*, &c. of which this I must say, they so much almost are distant from *Prætorium*,

(f) *χρεῖς τὰ  
Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυ-  
γῶν πεδία.*  
*Prov. Nic. Chon.*

(f) *Diffita, quod Phrygibus distant procul arva Mysorum.*  
As *Phrygia* distant from the *Mysian* Plains.

And thus have we restored this first Journey, beginning beyond the *WALL*, where the Limit of the Empire was in the Island; and ending here.

## ITER. II.

**T**His second Journey is begun from the Western end of the Wall, (which is reported to have been drawn by *Severus*, when he saw he could do no more good upon the Northern Britains, some good way beyond *Carlisle*, neer upon the mouth of *\*Or Eden*, in *\*Ituna*;) and it hath its ending in the East of the Island at *Rutupia*, or *Richborow*, now called *Sandwich* in *Kent*. It is as it were the Diametre of the whole Island, however of so much, as the *Romans* held subject to them.

The way this Journey takes, as *Talbot* thinketh, is by the *Watlingstreet*, or, as he saies he met with it written in an old Book, *Waclyng-street*, so called because it passed thorough *Watlingcester*, by which name among the *Britans*, † as well as *Saxons*, *Verulamium* of old was known, and for which at this day we have *S. Albans*. The chief antient waies, or thorough-fares of *Britain*, are by the Interpreter, or Author, chuse you whether you please, of the (a) *Britain History*, ascribed to *Dunwallo Mamutius*; which afterward his Son *Belinus* confirmed. Their courses are differently reported, and in some part their names also: They are commonly made four in number; thus called, and briefly described?

I. *Watling-street*, Out of the South East into the North East, from *Dover* to *Cardigan* in *Wales* at the *Irish* Sea.

II. *The Fosse*, from the South to the North, from *Totness* in *Cornwall*, to *Lincoln*.

III. *Ermingsstreet*, Out of the West North West, unto the East South East, beginning at *S. Davids*, to *Southampton*.

IV. *Iknel-street*, by *Worcester*, and so by *York*, unto *Tinmouth*.

So commonly, I say,

\* *Io. Selden an-  
not. in Polyol-  
bion Cant. 16.*

To endeavour certainty in all these, were to obtrude (saith one, who was, if ever any one else among us, *παλμά τέ πολλά τε εἶδως*)



and ) unwarrantable conjectures, and abuse both time, and the Reader. Of *Watling* it is said, that it went from *Dover* in *Kent*, and so by the West of *London* (yet part of the name seems to this day left in the middle of the City : ) to *S. Albans*, and thence, having crossed the *Fosse* in a crooked line, through *Shropshire* (where yet also the name abideth : ) by *Wrekin* hill unto (b) *Cardigan* by the Irish Sea side. But (c) others say from *S. Albans* to *Chester* ; and whereas all is referred to *Belin*, and his Father, by the (d) British Historian, and *Polychronicon* ; another (e) tells you, that the Sons of ( I know not what ) King *Wetle*, made and denominated it. Now whereas our *Talbot* thinketh, that the course which this journey took was along the *Watling* street, sure he meaneth it not of the whole Journey from the beginning : for *Chester* being the utmost bound, that we have set down, of the *Watling*, he hath not any authority for what he saith, neither is it probable there should be any elsewhere found. The *Fosse* is derived, by one consent, out of *Cornwalin* to *Devonshire*, through *Somerset*, over *Cotes-wold* by *Tewksbury*, along neer *Coventry* to *Liecester*, through *Lincoln* to *Berwick*, and thence to *Cathness*, the utmost of *Scotland*. Our Antiquary supposeth the ditching of it on either side, was the reason of the name. Of Restitution of the other you may be desperate. *Rickneld street* is to be found in *Randall* of *Chester*, and by him derived from *S. Dewies* in *Pembroke* into *Hereford*, and so through *Worcester*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, and *Yorkshire* to *Tinmouth* ; which upon the credit of the learned Poet *Michael Drayton* reporting it, is also justifiable by a very antient deed of Lands, bounded neer *Birmingham* in *Warwickshire* by *Rickneld*. In *Henry of Huntingdon*, no such name is found, but with the first two, *Ickenild*, and *Ermingstreet*. *Ickenild*, saith he, goes from East to West ; *Ermingstreet*, from South to North : Another tells us that *Ermingstreet* begins at *S. Dewies*, and conveys it self to *Southampton*, which others attribute to *Ichning*, begun (upon the words community with the (f) *Iceni*) in the Eastern parts. It's not in my power to reconcile all these, saith the most knowing *Selden*, or elect the best. I onely add, that *Ermingstreet* being of *English Idiom*) seems to have had its name from *7pmunrull*, in that signification, whereby it (g) interprets an universall pillar worshippt for *Mercury* (others say (h) *Mars* ; however some *Viacus* or one of the *Lares Viales* ) President of *Waies* : and is like enough (if *Huntingdon* be in the right, making it from South, to North : ) to have left its part in *Stanstreet* in *Surrey*, where a way made with Stones and Gravel, in a Soile on both sides very different, continues neer a mile ; and thence neer the Eastern shore in *Sussex*, or some places seeming as other Reliques of it. But I here determine nothing about the publick waies of *Britain* in old time, either as set forth by King *Belinus*, or since drawn out and

(b) *Ranulp. Higden. Polych. lib. 1. cap. de Plat. Reg.*  
(c) *Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. 1. vide An. 39. Eliz. cap. 2.*  
(d) *Vbi supra.*  
(e) *Rog. Hoveden Annal. par. pr. fol. 248.*

(f) *Norfolk, and Suffolk.*

(g) *Adam Bregmens. Eccles. Hist. cap. 5. Selden. ad Can. III. Polyolb. Anton. Corvin. Hist. Monasteriens.*  
(h) *Ernstius Observ. lib. 1. ca. 17. Clarif. Spelmanus in Archaeologo.*



and described by our Monks, We see nothing therein but obscurity, and great uncertainty; We rather adhere to what our learned Antiquary supplies us with, where he informs us with more polite conceit, and judicious authority, that they were a work of the *Romans*, for the better and more convenient marching of their Souldiers, from Station to Station, and therefore called by them, *Militares viae*; as also *Consulares*, *Prætoriae*, *Publicæ*, &c. This we may easily beleieve if we do but think how untaught, how uncivilized, how little seen and furnished they were in regard of publick conveniencies any way. The Britains themselves make it their complaint, by the mouth of their gallant Prince *Galgacus*, in his brave (a) Oration for Liberty, that such hard service as rearing, or making waies, was first imposed on them by the Romans: *Corpora ipsa* (saith he) *ac manus sylvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterrunt*. And such was the course they took in every Province where they bore sway. *Vias publicas & militares stratas ubique lapide aut glorea scimus*, saith (b) one well skilled in such matters, *atque ita æquabiles, & sine salebris, faciles & meabiles curribus fuisse*. Whence these Waies or Streets, were called *Stratæ*, of which we have spoken in what goes before. And now it being warranted (for indeed so it must) that the High-waies of Britain were of the *Romans* raising, it cannot seem likely that in a Province so abounding with Stations, or Camps, Fortresses, and Cities, to be seen in this *Itinerary* and elsewhere, should have so few as four waies of any note in it; the Stations being very many of them to be marched into by courses, no way holding with these principal Waies; whereof they speak so confusedly. I may adde that we have sufficient testimonies by our eyes from the ruins of many such, which yet visibly remain and appear to the Traveller; besides such as we read of. As of \* *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthshire*, mentioned by *Alexander Neckham*, our old Poetaster, in these verses:

(a) *Apud. Tacitum in vita xul. Agricola.*

(b) *Lipsius ad Nic. Micault. lib. 3. Epist. 59.*

\* *Camden. in Siluribus.*

*Intrat, & auget aquas Sabrini fluminis Osca  
Præceptis: testis erit Julia Strata mihi.*

*Osca* who entring, swells the *Severne* Flood  
Clearly sets forth to me the *Julian* Road.

And from the very name it is the conjecture of learned *Camden*, that this way was raised by order from *Julius Frontinus*, who by (c) *Tacitus* is called *vir magnus*, and he tells us besides, that he brought under with his power *validam & pugnacem* \* *Silurum gentem*, *super virtutem hostium*, *locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus*. I might here also mention *Strata Marcella*, which we find in (d) *Geraldus Cambrensis*, at no very far distance from thence in his journey of *Wales*, which with the same probability we may

(c) *Tacit. ibid.*

\* *Monmouthshire, &c.*

(d) *Cambrensis. Itin. Cambrie lib. 1. cap. 5.*



may denominate from *Ulpus Marcellus* who was *Proprator* here among us in *Britain* under *Commodus*, not very long after *Frontinus*; & whose strictness & extraordinary severity in Military discipline the excellent Roman (e) Historian so much celebrateth.

(e) Dio Hist. Roman. lib. 72.

A VALLO ] This *Vallum* here, said to be raised by *Severus* the Emperour, cutting through the higher part of *Cumberland*, called also, as our learned Antiquary hath collected the several *Synonyms* thereof, *Vallum Barbaricum*, was a *Clusura*, or Mound of defence to the Provinciated part of the Island. The Roman Writers call it thus commonly, as we see here in *Antoninus*, besides *Cassiodorus*, and some others; some *Murus*, as *S. Aurelius Victor*: some by both names, as *Ælius Spartianus* in the life of *Severus*. The old Britains named it *Gual. Sever*, and *Gal-Sever*, from the founder of it, and also *Mur Sever*: The Scots called it *Scottish-Waith*. The English generally gave it the name *Picts* or *Pehits Wall*, calling it so from the unreduced Britains, that were excluded thereby: and they were named *Picti*, for that not being civilized by the Romans, they still retained their antient Countrey manner of painting their naked bodies; of which writers say enough. But to such as neighbour not far from it, it is known by being called *The Keep-Wall*, or plainly *The Wall*, by a transcendant way of expression, called in Greek commonly *ἡ ἐξοχὴ*.

That huge bulk of the Body of the Roman Empire, being now come to its *ἄκμῃ*, and to that vastness, that it became unweildy and cumberfom to it self, the wiser Princes began to think of setting it some boundaries and limits. Hence it is that *Cornelius Tacitus* (a) speaks thus of *Augustus*: *Addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii: incertum metu, an per invidiam*. And some deale plainer, he speaks (b) elsewhere: After the death of *Julius Caesar*, saith he, *mox bella civilia, & in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britannia etiam in pace*. *Consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præcipue*. *Augustus* called it Advice or Policy to bound in the Empire, especially *Tiberius*: except you will read in *Tacitus*, for *præcipue*, according as *Fulvius Ursinus* tells us it was in his old book, *præceptum*; and so interpret it, as a lesson which *Tiberius* had learnt from his Predecessor. Now for the bounds of the Empire set by *Augustus*, the same *Tacitus* will tell you, neer the foregoing place out of the I. Annal, what they were: *Mari, Oceano, aut omnibus longinquis, septum Imperium*. For the Ocean, he never, either in person or otherwise, troubled it; whatever some (c) *Grammarians*, from a few places of *Horace* and *Virgil* misinterpreted, with such like impertinent authorities have unadvisedly concluded; and for those *annes longinqui*, himself will tell you what they were in *Julian's Menippea de Caesaribus*, not without arrogating to himself something for his moderation in this kind. They

(a) Tacit. Ann. naliun 1.

(b) Tacit. in vita Agricola.

(c) Servius Honoratus, Iun. Philargyrius, Christ. Londinus in Virgil.



(p) Ammianus  
lib. 16.

were (d) Euphrates and the Danow; and he glories, that *ἐν ταῖς ἀμέτροις ἐμπόροις ἔκταν*, &c. not giving way to unmeasurable desires of conquering still more and more, I contented my self with those two limits, as it were appointed by nature. The diligent Student may also if he please see what the (e) Historian saies to this very purpose, concerning him.

(e) Dio Cassius  
Hist. Rom. l. 56.

(f) Ad init. l.  
Itineris.

Concerning the several kinds of Limets used sometimes in the Empire, enough hath been said in what (f) goes before. Therefore having first acquainted the ordinary Reader, with the frequent use of the several sorts of such, let me tell him too, that they were by a peculiar name called *Prætentura*, as by us in English *Boundaries*, *Fore-fences*, *Munitions*, or the like: And not onely by the Romans made use of against the neighboring Barbarians, but by themselves also all along: for since *Constantines* time we often read of them; as under (g) *Julian* of a *Vallum Barbaricum* in Germany: And we read likewise of a long Wall raised from the *Great Sea* (so the (b) author speaks) by the Emperour \* *Anastasi* *Dicorus* even to *Selybria*; to keep off the Incursions of the *Mysians*, *Bulgarians*, and *Scythians*. Nay of very late years in comparison of any remote antiquity, (i) the eloquent *Spaniard* will tell us in the story of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, that those ingenious people, whom they called the *Chinois*, did with a Wall of many hundred miles hinder the hostile irruptions of the barbarous and inhumane *Tartarians*; but of late years in our memory, it was demolished by a deluge of the same barbarous people, to the unspeakable grief of the more civilized world.

(g) Ammian.  
lib. 16. Historie.

(h) Zonaras  
Hist. Tom. 3.

\* So called for  
having his eyes  
doubly pupiled.

(i) Hieron. Ofor.  
de gest. Eman.  
R. Lusitanie.

\* Apud Homer.  
Iliad. M. quem  
locum inspicere  
non gravabitur  
studiosus lector.

Item Il. i.  
ubi Achilles de  
Agamemnone  
verba faciens:  
ὃ δὲ τείχε-  
σσι δειμὲ, καὶ ἡ-  
λᾶσσι πέφον ἐν  
αὐτῷ.

Εὐρεῖαν, μέ-  
γαλιν; ἐν δὲ  
σκόλοπας καὶ  
ἐπιξεν.

(k) Claudian. in  
Ruffinum lib. 2.

Now whether the antients borrowed this kind of fence from the *Murus Decelicus* at *Athens*; or rather, to go higher from the \* *Grecians* Wall, which they made for safety of their Navy, against the violent impression of *Hector*, and his associates, I permit to others, whose leasure is more then mine, to take it into consideration. In this place then I shall onely refer the more industrious Student in this whole business, to the excellently learned Frenchman, the honour of his Countrey, *Pierre Pitheu*, in his first Book of his *Adversaria* cap. XIV. not forgetting in the mean while those two notable places of the neat and smooth Poet *Claudian*, in the former of which, he doth most accurately raise us a *Vallum*:

(k) Tum duplici fossa non exuperabile Vallum  
Asperat alternis sudibus, murique locatum  
In speciem. ———

There Trenches were, and Bulwarks made,  
Well strenghtned with a Pallasade.

And in the latter he describes to us that living *Prætentura* of  
men,



men, alwaies by good reason thought the more substantial and effectual :

*Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis  
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci.*

*Claud. lib. de  
Bell. Getico.*

The Legion to the Britain Borders came,  
Proud Scots to tame.

And I urge it the rather, because it is such a *Prætentura*, as first occurs in order, in the recension of such as we shall meet with all in the Island.

The first *Prætentura*, or *Fore-fence*, that we read of, placed here in the Island by the *Romans*, was a Guard of Souldiers appointed by *Julius Agricola* to keep the narrow passage between the two Seas or Friths, against the unconquered *Britains*, by *Sterlin* in *Scotland*. But concerning it, it is better to hear *Tacitus* in the life of that famous man his Worthy Father-in-law : *Quarta æstas obtinendis quæ percurrerat insumpta ; ac si virtus exercituum & Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Glota & Bodotria diversi maris æstu per immensum reducti, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum præsidii firmabatur, atque omnis proprius sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.* All which in English you shall take from him, who in the age of our Fathers was deservedly accounted another *Tacitus* both for gravity and wisdom. “ The former Summer was spent in perusing and ordering that, which he had overrun : and if the valiant minds of the Armies, and glory of the Roman name could have permitted, or accepted it so, they needed not to have sought other Limets of *Britanny*. For (i) *Glota* and (k) *Bodotria*, two arms of two contrary Seas, shooting mightily into the land, are onely divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground ; which passage was guarded and fortified then with a Garrison and Castle: so that the Romans were absolute Lords of all on this side, having cast out the Enemy, as it were, into another land. This happened not while *Vespasian* was yet Emperour, by whom, saith that famous Benedictine Monk *Witichindus*, some seven hundred years ago, (m) this Island was reduced into the form of a Province.

*Sr. Hen. Savile,  
doctif. Tacit. In-  
terpres.*

(i) Den-Britton  
Frith.  
(k) Edenbo-  
rough Frith.

(m) *Witichin-  
dus in Saxon:  
Hist. lib. 1.*

The next, but the first that ever drew a Wall-fence in *Britain*, was *Hadrian* the Emperour ; for before his time, as we have sufficient authority from approved good Writers, the Romans made use of *Camps* and *Stations*, instead of *Walls* : *Herodian* witnesseth this of *Augustus* : (a) *ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸνβάλετο ἀνὰ πύλας.* *Tacitus* using the peculiar Word proper to express a Wall drawn along : *Et quicquid Castrorum Armeniis prætenditur.*

(a) *Herod. lib.  
Hist. 1. initio.*



*Anrelins Viſtor*, ſpeaking of *Trajan*: *Caſtra ſuſpectioribus & opportunis locis extructa*. Beſides many other places. But *Hadrian* being Emperour, as the (b) *Historian* tells us. *Frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus ſed limitibus dividuntur; ſtipitibus magnis in modum muralis ſepis funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros ſeperavit*. There are, who in this place for *muralis ſepis*, would have, *militaris ſepis*, read. I ſay not how well; yet a place in (c) *Varro* comes into my mind: *militare ſepimentum eſt fossa, & terreus agger*: which may ſeem to confirm it. He did frequently in many places rear ſuch Walls as we mean here. And for *Britain* he ſpeaks expreſſy. For having been put to it by his Predeceſſors, who had let all of late go to ruine here, either by *Domitian's* ſtupendious careleſſeneſſe, or elſe by *Nerva* and *Trajan's* being elſewhere employed. *Britanni teneri ſub Romana ditione non poterant*. There was no keeping the Britans in ſubjection, ſaith the ſame *Historian*. He then having ordered the City affairs, took a Journey abroad to view what ſtate the Provinces ſtood in, and to viſit them, which he did rigorouſly enough, as appears, and going into *Britain*: (d) *in eo multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia paſſuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*. This Wall was raiſed of Turfs, ſuch as were even now deſcribed: between the Mouths of the Rivers, *Tine* and the *Eſk*. Then was he fain to draw back the Roman forces about an hundred miles: ſo that I know not how true that was of him in *Britain*, which *S. Auſtine* ſaith of him in the Eaſt. (e) *Deus Terminus, qui non ceſſit Jovi, ceſſit Hadriani voluntati, ceſſit Juliani temeritati, ceſſit Joviani neceſſitati*. He had not ſo good luck here, as to have *God Terminus* give place to him, but was fain to give way himſelf, and retire back. Yet where he did ſit down, he left a World of Monuments of his memory behind him, as will appear all along by his Wall, upon the foundation of which, moſt deal, that of *Severus* in after times was built: for learned men direct us to think ſo: I might very well adde in this place, in behalf of the ſtudioſus youth, that theſe kind of Walls are called by the later Grecians *Βολαεγί*, for *Βωλνεγί*, of *Βωλ*, which ſignifies juſt as much as *ceſpes*.

(b) *Ael. Spart. in vita ejus.*

(c) *Varro de R. R. lib. I. cap. 14.*

(d) *Spartian. ubi ſupra.*

(e) *Auguſt. de C. D. l. 4. cap. 39.*

\* *Nicetas Choniates hiſt. lib. 2.*

(f) *Panegy. X. ad Conſtantium Caeſ. dicto.*

(g) *Pauſan. in Arcadicks.*

The very next to this of *Hadrian*, was one raiſed under *Antoninus Pius* reign, by *Lollus Urbicus*, who alſo did excellent ſervice in the Iſland for him; which becauſe it was managed by his Lieutenant, *Fronto*, that *Romane eloquentiae non ſecundum ſed alterum decus*, (f) thus tells *Antoninus*, “ That though like a Maſter at the Helm, he ſate in his Palace at *Rome* all the while, yet having given out the main order for the War in *Britain*, he had deſerved the whole glory of the voyage. He did particularly conquer for him the *Brigantes*, as we read out of (g) *Pauſanias* in his *Arcadicks*. But concerning the whole let us hear the



the testimony of *Julius Capitolinus* in his life: *Et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit, alio muro cespeditio, submotis barbaris, ducto.* In which words *Jo. Livineius* would fain turn *alio*, into *aleo* such are our great Criticks, or rather *παροδορδωται*: when as by *alio* the Historian would have that other Wall of *Hadrian* understood: distinct and quite another from this. For that there were several Walls in *Britain*, and raised by several men, upon several occasions, I could produce the authority of *Eumenius* the Rhetor, where a little before he had mentioned *Britain*; (h) *Quot ubique mari, vix repertis veterum fundamentorum vestigiis excitantur?* Of the ruins of this, or the former, or both, is *Dio*, or rather *Xiphiline* out of him to be understood. *πὲρ τῆς τοῦ δ. οὐλίου τῆς Βρεταννῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων στρατοπέδου. Murus qui dividit Britannos, & Romanorum castra.* And very likely *Aristides* the Orator alludeth thereto: *ἐν ταῦτα τῇ τε πρεβάλεδε καὶ πάλαι ἐφορέας ἐδείμαδε.* (i) *Hic etiam opposuisti muros, & urbes exploratorias condidisti.* Beyond *Sterlin* most certainly was not this Wall made, as will appear by inscriptions found thereabout to be seen in *Camden*: and that either for the conveniency of the strait passage between the two *Friths*: or else for that the Land beyond was not worth owning, the Romans having already the better part of the Island, and that too, not so useful, as an (k) Author then living in *Antoninus* daies puts it out of all question. However \* *Lollius Urbicus*, the undertaker for the whole here, was certainly a most gallant man, and Commander; and I remember in *Apuleius* his Apology I find him *Lollius Urbicus V. C. Præfectus Urbis*. And in ancient Coins I find that he deserved the Title of **BRITANNICUS**.

(h) *Eumen. Orat. pro scholâ instaurandâ.*

(i) *Aristed. Eγκώμιον σέβ. Ρωμαῖν Λαυράρι- one.*

*pag. 65. & 69.*

(k) *Appian. Alexandrin. Proem. ad Histor. τῆς Βρεταννίδος νήσου τὸ κεφάλαιον ἔχει ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἐν τῇ 1<sup>ῃ</sup> ἐκείνῃ.*

\* *Fuit & alius post eum Lollius Urbicus: qui sui temporis Historiam sub Heliogabalo conscripsit: de eo videndus est Casaubonus ad Aug. Hist. Scriptores.*

The Romans after *Commodus*; (as if by him they had not had loss enough:) falling out at home among themselves, occasioned in the *Britains* some attempts neer to a revolt, and from thence another Wall far exceeding the former, in fame, as well as magnificence, was erected. For *Albinus Cæsar*, sometimes Governour of *Britain*, being slain at *Lyons* in *Gallia*, by *Severus* the Emperour; he after ward made an expedition, with both his Sons, into *Britain*; where lately (l) *Virius Lupus* the *Pro- prætor* had been put to the worst by the *Mæata*, and *Caledonians*. Being come to *Tork*, leaving his younger Son *Geta* there, *δικάζοντα τε καὶ διοικῆσαντα τὰ πολιτικά τῆς ἀρχῆς*; to administer justice and the Civil affairs of the Empire, taking his other son *Antoninus* (called other wise *Bassianus Caracalla*;) along with him, and passing over the Rivers and (m) *Rampiers* which determinated the Frontiers of the Romans from the *Britains*, he overrun the whole Coun-

(l) *Dicitur Britt. Præf. Vlpiano Dig. l. 28. tit. 6. leg. 2. sect. 4. Prius autem.*

(m) *ῥωμαίων Herod. hist. li. 3. He means Hadrian's and Antoninus's Walls.*



† Emendandus e  
Iornandes, l. De  
reb. Geticis, cun-  
ctis tu in Cale-  
doniorum metal-  
lum concessisse  
nomina inde, ex  
MS. Meatarum.  
que concessisse  
nomina auctor  
Dio caleberimus  
scriptor Annal.  
\* Dio in Severo.  
(n) Ael. Sparti-  
an. in vita Severi.  
(o) In Severi  
ult editore  
Schotto.

(p) Dio Cassius  
Hist. Rom. ubi de  
Severi gestis.

(q) Salmasius  
in Spartianum.

Countries of the *Maata* and *Caledonii*, (that was the † general name of most of the Northern *Britanni*, with \* Dio :) with the loss of about fifty thousand men; and then having made a league with the natives, on condition they would agree to retire so far, he then began to erect a Wall, of which hear (n) *Spartianus* speaking of him: *Britanniam* (quod maximum ejus Imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem Oceani munivit: unde etiam *BRITANNICI* nomen accepit. And elsewhere in his life. Post Murum aut Vallum missum in *Britannia*, quum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata. (o) *Aurelius Victor* also seems to have taken what he saies, out of the same Author, which *Spartian* made use of. His *mijora* aggressus, *Britanniam*, quæ ad ea utilis erat, p[er] suis hostibus, muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem Oceani. The learned *Casaubon* reads it: quo ad ea utilis: which I only note here, but the discreet Reader may follow his own judgment in whether reading he please. And I may adde hither also that testimony of *Dio* concerning the Wall, where he tells us that the *Maata* had their being about it: (p) Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ αἱ Μαάται πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν διατεταγμένην, ὅτι τὴν νῆσον διχῶν τέμνει. The *Maata*, saies he, dwell by the very Wall, which divides the Island in two parts. Now the place where that was, if it be true which we find all men affirm, is where *Hadrian's Wall* was first raised, for on the foundation of that, they say, was this Wall of *Severus* built, and neer the whole way along too from Sea to Sea, save that this had its ending towards the West or Irish Sea, in *Ituna* estuario, or *Solwey Frith*, the other in the Mouth of the *Esk*, called by some *Scots-Waith*: and that *Severus* his Wall was led strait along tramite directo, as *Gildas* speaks; *Hadrian's Wall* in somewhat an uneven passage or draught, as they can tell that have seen such ruins of it as are at this day extant. This being cleared, and confessed on all hands, there remain yet two doubts: First, whether this *Prætenture*, or Wall, was made of Stone; or of Turfs: and secondly, what the length thereof was, and how the numbers, for that, are to be read in old Writers? First then the common opinion among our *Saxon* Authors, and some others less antient, is, that it was *Vallum Cespititium*, or made of Turfes, and stakes: our Writers follow *Beda*, and so doth the learned *Camden* seem to do, whom we worthily call our chief *Antiquary*; to him therefore have recourse, for what they say. The famous *Salmasius* also, a man thought by many to know all that is to be known, saies so too of this Wall, (q) *Murus ille Cespititius fuit, nec novum est vocari Vallum murum Cespititium*. He tells us besides that inter Oceani Occidentalis famosos montes, in *Aethicus* his *Cosmography*, that where in the printed ones you have *Trienum*, *Alpes plurimas*, *Appenninum Balearem*; in his written Copy, much differing from those



those extant, for *Balearem*, there is to be found *Ballum Britannie*; *quod de hoc vallo manifesto accipiendum est*, saies he; and tells he will *p'urimis ad ipsum Æthicum docere*. But we have not yet had the luck to see his edition of *Æthicus*, neither indeed know I, whether it be yet abroad; and therefore can say yet very little to it. The place of *Beda* is very much noted; and it will be worth the while for us to take notice of his learned *Criticizm*: (r) *Severus*, saith he, *receptam partem insulae, à cæteris indomitis gentibus non muro (ut quidam aestimant) sed Vallo distinguendam putavit. Murus etenim de lapidibus; Vallum vero (quoad repellendam vim hostis cum castra muniuntur) fit de Cespitibus, quibus circumcisis è terra, velut Murus exstruitur altus super terram, ita ut (s) in ante fiat fossa, de qua levati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis præfiguntur. Itaque Severus magnam fossam firmissimumque Vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, à mari ad mare duxit.* But now on the other side, with this whole passage here is the most discerning (t) *Dr. Usher* directly offended, imputing it to ignorance, that the good old *Presbyter* never heard of *Hadrians Wall*, which \* occasioned his mistake, to erect *Severus Wall of Turfs*: and that the Latine word *Vallum* (in like manner as the English *Wall*, and the *British Gual*, both thence derived:) doth signifie and mean the very same that *Murus*, which yet *Salmasius* doth readily acknowledge: and hence it is that he mends *Spartianus*, as you see before, thus: *Post murum aut Vallum missum*: of which, saith *Usher*, *recte restituit*: for formerly, saith *Salmasius* himself, what is *Murum apud Vallum mittere*? Again he tells us that *Beda* was deceived by the fallacious distinction between *Murus* and *Vallum*: For I know no good authority for it out of any Latine Writer: (v) *Varro* will tell you, that they used to call *Murum, aggerem sine fossa. A mound without a ditch.* Which by no means suites with the *Vallum* they think of here, where they dream of their *fossatum magnum*, and that on both sides sometimes. But neither do the *Elogia* bestowed on this *Vallum* by antient Historians, any whit suite with it, were it but simply raised with Turf, and Earth. *His majora aggressus*, saith *Victor* before. *Maximum ejus Imperii decus*, saith *Spartian* of this Wall. Did he nothing then to outvalue a dirt Wall? Was his *Septizonium* of no greater esteem? Well then might *Æthicus* rank it among the Western Mountains. But I recommend the inquisitive Reader to the very place, where the learned Doctor urges his irrefragable arguments to prove that *Severus* his Wall was set up of firm Stone. And will see what I can do to rectify the numbers of its length from shore to shore. To let passe therefore *Fordon*, who as he is not antient enough to be corrupted, so he was not too old to be deceived, defining the length of this Wall to have the space of but XXII. Miles. *Aurelius Vi-*  
*ctor*

(r) *Beda Eccl Hist. lib. I. ca.*

(s) *Evagr. Gr.*

(t) *Quem adi in Primord Eccles Brit. pag. 1025, 1026, 1027. \* Quod tu sibi persuadi non vult Geo. Buchananus Hist. Scot. lib. 4. in Rege XXIII.*

(v) *Varro de R. R. lib. I. cap. 14.*



\* Eutrop. lib. 8.  
ad Valent. Imp.  
\* V was soon  
made out of  
the two strokes  
of II.

(z) Orosius hist.  
lib. 7. cap. 17.

(y) Beda in  
Chron. MS.

(a) Euseb. Sc.  
lig. pag. 203.

(b) V. Iacob. Go-  
thofred. de Sub-  
urbicariis Regi-  
onib. pag. 13.

(c) Const. Harm.  
Epit. Iuris Civ.  
lib. 2. cap. 4.

(d) Hero in Ge-  
odesia MS. in  
Biblioth. Publi-  
ca Oxon. de quo  
vide Clar. Sa-  
vilium Lectur.  
secund. in Eu-  
clidem.

(e) Adi Spart.  
& Camden. pag.  
650, 651.

For (I mean the ordinary one; not that of Schottus Edition fore-mentioned: ) may well be numbred among the antients, and yet he is as foully out almost: *Hic [Severus] in Britannia Vallum per triginta duo passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit.* Eutropius in his \* Roman History hath little mended the matter: speaking of Severus. *Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, Vallum per \* triginta quinque millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit.* But his most antient Copies a great deal farther exceeded, then these now adaies come short of the true number, for they had the note of a Centenary C. set before this number here, as may be concluded from old Latine Writers who had him for an Author, and exscribed him, as Hieron in his Edition of Eusebius his Chronicle, commonly called Eusebias his *Libellus Temporum* in some MSS. Severus in *Britanniam transfert bellum, ubi ut receptas provincias ab incurusione Barbarica faceret securiores, Vallum per CXXXII. M. P. à mari ad mare duxit.* So likewise (z) Paulus Orosius the old Spanish Historian. *Severus victor in Britanniam defectu pene omnium sociorum trahitur. Ubi magnis gravibusque praeliis saepe gestis, receptam partem insula à ceteris indomitis gentibus Vallo distinguendam putavit. Itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque Vallum crebris insuper turribus communitum [leg] communitum, per centum triginta & duo millia passuum à mari ad mare duxit:* And generally too all that follow him as Cassiodorus, Ado Viennensis, our Beda; whom hear, if you please: (y) Severus in *Britannias bellum transfert. Ubi ut receptas provincias ab incurusione barbarica faceret securiores magnam fossam, firmissimumque Vallum crebris insuper turribus communitum, per CXXXII. millia passuum à mari usque ad mare duxit.* But what need I trouble your patience in alledging these testimonies? That his most antient Copies had it so, is plain out of Peanias, the Greek Metaphrast of Eutropius, in whom you read δύο καὶ τεράκοντα στήδαι ἑκατὸν σημεῖα. Two and thirty besides an hundred miles: and Georgius syncellas who in (a) Scaliger's Eusebius in Greek hath, σαδίων χιλίων: assigning to every σημεῖον, as Peanias speaks, or an Italian Mile (with (b) Dio Cassius, (c) Julianus Acalonites, (d) Hero the Land-Measurer, and others) seven Stadia and an half. So then by this time we may easily guess at the ground of the mistake of the Librarian or Transcriber, whence this Errour proceeded. It was first truly written LXXXII. now the note of fifty L. appearing but obscurely, yet appearing in some Copies it was made CXXXII. the L. (which might easily be done) being turned into C. especially if we consider the fashion it was of in old time [C] by other Libraries, the L. scarcely appearing, it was quite left out, and so the number became XXXII. That by this means and occasion the error happened in so many Authors, I presume we may be very confident. And more then that (e) middle number LXXXII.



LXXXII. the space of the place between Sea and Sea doth not afford. As for (f) *Buchanan*, we mind him not, who would mend *Orosius*, and for CXXXII. would have it read onely XXXII.

(f) *Geo. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. 3.*

And this is all that shall be spoken in this place of *Severi Vallum*; onely this may be added, and that me seems very confidently, that it remained till after ages, where in *Theodosius* the younger's time there lay neer by it, per *Lineam Valli*, saith the *Notitia occidentis*, V. *Speſtabilis Dux Britanniarum*, with no leſſe then XXI. *Tribunes of Cohorts*, and *Præſecti Alarum*, &c. diſpoſed up and down as he thought moſt convenient.

The next *Prætentura*, or *Rampier*, we meet with in the Roman History, pertaining to *Britain*, is that which *C. Carausius* made in the narrow paſſage where formerly *Julius Agricola* had placed his Watch or Garrison between the two Friths of *Edenbrough* and *Dunbritton* againſt the Inrodes of the barbarous *Britans*. This *Carausius* being (g) *Menapia Civis* (whether an (h) *Irishman*, or a (i) *Flemming*, I leave it to learned men to agree upon: in (k) *Ptolem*, I muſt needs ſay is, *Μαυαπία πῆλις* in *Ireland*, and the people of the Countrey about are called thereafter, but whether in other Copies it be *Menapia*, as ſome think, I do *ἐπιχειρῶ* to affirm any thing till farther ſearch; knowing no City of that name ſave (l) *Menapia* in *Baſſariana*. For as Doctor *Uſher* hath truly noted, there is not any City of that name among the (m) *Menapii* in *Belgica*, theirs being by him named *Caſtellum*: yet for all that *Camden*, or *Uſher* have alledged, he may be of *Belgick* extraction, being plainly called by *Eumenius* the *Rhetor terræ Bataviæ alumnus*. This *Carausius*, I ſay, about the III. year of *Diocleſian*, being brought up a Seaman from his youth, was by him employed to guard the *Britiſh Seas* againſt the roving *Pirates Franks* and *Saxons*, and being for ſome attempts threatened with death by *Maximinian Auguſtus*, (n) aſſumed to himſelf the purple, and power that came thereby, in *Britain*. But when no good could be done upon him by the Emperours, he was let alone with his Government. (o) *Postquam* (p) *juffi: ac munimento incolarum contra gentes bellicofas opportunior habitus*. During the time of his ſway in the Iſland, ſay the (q) memories and records of our own Nation, if perchance not excepted againſt; that the *ſcythians* having been formerly invited by *Fulgenius* to oppoſe the Emperour *Severus*, this *Carausius* granted to the portion of them, yet remaining room among the *Britains*, in *Caledonia*; and that he ſhut them out from the other inhabitants of the Iſland with a *Wall*, as is aforeſaid. Our authority for this is to be had out of (r) *Ninnius*, or his *Interpolator* at leaſt, who ever he was: *Carausius poſtea Imperator readificavit, & ſeptem caſtellis munivit, inter utraque oſtia: domumque rotundam politis lapidibus ſuper ripam fluminis Carun, quod à ſua nomine no-*

(g) *S. Aurelius Victor Schotti.*

(h) *Camden. in Hibernia p. 748.*

(i) *Uſſer. Primord. Eccl. Brit. p. 585*

(j) *Ian. Dausa in Batavia pag. 33.*

(k) *Ptol. Geogr. lib. 2.*

(l) *Ptol. Geogr. lib. 6.*

(m) *Panegy. 9. ad Conſtantinum*

*diſt. pop. in utroque Rheni littore*

*Guelders, & Cleves, Juliers.*

(n) *Aurel. Viſt. Eutrop. l. 9. Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 25. Beda lib. 1. cap. 6.*

(o) *Viſt. Schotti.*

(p) *Ad juffa dandum & imperitandum, ut Liven. intelligit.*

(q) *Galf. Mon. Hiſt. Brit. lib. 5. cap. 2. & 3.*

(r) *Hiſtor. Britonum.*



men accepit, fornicemque triumphalem in victoria memoriam erigens, construxit. Besides that *Aurelius Victor* doth hint at it in his foregoing words. This Wall at this day is called *Grahams-dyke*, and the house *Arthurs Oven*, and *Julius Hoff*: Which *Buchanan* (f) conceived to be a Temple of the God *Terminus*; as you may see by his Words. *Id opus nonnulli falso prodiderunt templum Claudii Caesaris fuisse. Nos, quantum conjectura possumus assequi, Aedem Termini fuisse credimus. Erant item in ejusdem fluminis ripa sinistra duo tumuli terreni in modica planitie, manu (ut satis apparet) congesti. Minoris, qui magis ad occasum vergit, bona pars alluvione amnis est ablata. Dunos pacis adhuc accolae vocant.*

(f) Buchanan.  
Hist. Scot. lib. 4.  
in Rege XXVII

Besides, now we must take heed that from hence, or the like passages, we do not with strangers & foreigners feign to our selves that usual and acknowledged separation and division, wont to be for very many ages between us and Scotland; as *Joannes Sicardus* hath noted to that of *Eusebius* [*Carausium sumpta purpura Britannias occupavisse.*] these words: *Hic puto Scotiam ab Anglia primum divisam*: And with the like judgement *Henricus Glareanus* on *Eutropius*; when he, speaking of *Severus Wall*, the other very learnedly, you will say, observes upon him: *& sic hodie separatur Scotia ab Anglia.*

(t) Zosim. Hist.  
lib. 2.  
\* Urbibus &  
praesidiis &  
burgis.

The next after him; for I forbear to mention *Dioclesian*, although *Zosimus* (t) highly praises him, for that ἀπανταχῆ τῶν ἱερῶν every where in the limets of the Empire, he did so providently fence the whole \* πόλει, καὶ φρουραῖς, καὶ πύργοις. For he never having been in Britain, the Historian meant, it is likely, the Empires bounds elsewhere. And I may make neer as good an excuse, for leaving out *Constantine* the Great: for though he were sometimes resident here, and ordered things exceedingly well in the Island, yet is he by the same Historian much traduced, as who broke down such Munitions and defences as were formerly made; that he removed the Souldiers from praesidiary Towns that stood on the borders, to such as needed no garrison; and finally laid open to the enemies incursions, such as were already frequently alarm'd and assaulted by them. Such and more heinous, if might be, are the criminations wherewith that lying Historian doth asperse *Constantine*, whose parallel in such suffering in future ages I only name *Justinian*; a worthy gallant Prince, slandered by a (u) blackmouthed relater of his great and glorious actions.

(v) Procopius,  
in Historia

ἀνέκδοτος  
Roma à Nicol.  
Alemano edita,  
Graeco-Lat.

\* Am. Marcel.  
Hist. lib. 28.

Thenext then, as I was saying, after *Carausius*, was *Theodosius*, who strengthened and fenced Britain, and whose prowess and gallantry I had rather you were made acquainted with in \* *Marcellinus* his words, then mine: *Hinc ad corrigenda plura conversus & necessaria, periculo penitus dempto, eum aperte constare nulla ejus caepa propitiam deservisse fortunam, instaurobat*



bat urbes & prædiaria ut diximus castra, limiteſque vigiliſ tuebatur & Prætenturiſ recuperatamque provinciam, qua in ditionem conceſſerat hoſtium, ita reddiderat ſtatu priſtino: ut eodem referente, & reſtorem haberet Legitimum, & Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio Principiſ. And here I cannot moderate my ſelf, but bring out of the ſame Hiſtorian the very (y) next words, giving a clear teſtimony of hiſ provident care for preſerving the limets, in puniſhing the *Areani* then fallen into foul neglect and abuſe of their office: *Areanos, ſaith he, genus hominum à veteribus inſtitutum, ſuper quibus aliqua in (z) actibus Conſtantiſ retulimus paulatim prolapſos in vitia à ſtationibus ſuiſ removit: aperte conviſtos, acceptorum promiſſorumque magnitudine præmiorum alleſtos, quæ apud noi agebantur aliquotiens barbariſ prodidiſſe. Id enim illiſ erat officium ut ultro citroque per longa ſpatia diſcurrenteſ vicinarum gentium ſtrepituſ noſtriſ ducibuſ intimarent.*

(y) *Ibidem, niſ quod in eo lacuna quædam ſit & hiatus; neſcio an temporum, an magiſ hominum vitio.*

(z) *Quibuſ apud eum deperdiſt damnum conſigit haud reparabile in rerum Bri-tanniarum hiſto-ria.*

So deſerving a Commander (for (a) *Marcellinuſ* compareſ him with *Domitiuſ Corbulo* in *Nero*'ſ time, whom the (b) wiſeſt Hiſtorian ſo ſurpaſſingly advanceth:) whoſe *Tropæeſ* and triumphſ were every where extant and conſpicuouſ, and whoſe providence for the ſafety of the whole Empire waſ not inferior to, but exceeded, that of the beſt Princeſ, came by free Election at length to take charge of all, being a man, both for hiſ excellent Natural Endowmentſ, aſ well aſ for hiſ wonderfull ſtately comelineſſe, born and made to command the whole World. And had I not ſaid enough of him out of *Marcellinuſ*, I would recommend to the ſtudiouſ youth, (and yet however I will do it) the excellent and eloquent (c) Oration of the Panegyriſt, made to him perſonally at *Rome*, when he waſ now compleat and ſole *Auguſtuſ*; for in that too you ſhall finde hiſ extraordinary care, for the Welfare of (d) Britain. And that learned Author, who ever he waſ, who wrote the Book *De Rebuſ Belliciſ, ad Theodoſiuſ & filiſ*, ſeemſ not to me ſo much to have directly adviſed them, to what waſ fitting in thiſ kind for them to do; aſ to have expreſſed lively the imitable practice and performance of ſo renowned a Chief and Souldier.

(a) *Hiſt. lib. 28*

(b) *Tacituſ.*

(c) *Latini Pacati D. repanti.*

(d) *Redactum ad paludeſ ſuaſ Scotum loquor? &c. idem Panegyriſ.*

And the Younger *Theodoſiuſ* alſo directly trod in the ſteps of ſo glorious ſan example; aſ may be ſeen by the Laweſ of hiſ time; enjoyning \* *Magiſter Officiorum* yearly to acquaint the Emperour in what caſe the Rampieriſ, Garriſonſ, and Souldieriſ in Generall every where ſtood; aſ the Studiouſ Reader may ſee at hiſ pleaſure.

\* *Cod. Theodoſ.*

And here in a diſcourſe *De Limitum cura & cuſtodia*; and that in Britain too, iſ it poſſible I can omit the glorious name of *Flaviuſ Stilicho*, whoſe ἀνδραγαθήματα here, peace I mean and ſecurity in thiſ Iſland, the brave Poet *Clau-*



*Claudian* doth so highly advance in verse, which shall outlive time, and a worse vermin then Mothes, ill men. For thus he brings in *Britain*, speaking by a *Prosopopæia*:

(e) *Claud. Panegy.*  
in *Stilichonem*.  
1. *Hibernus*.

(e) *Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,  
Munivit Stilicho, totum quum \* Scotus Iernen  
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys.  
Ilius effectum curis, ne bella timerem  
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne littore toto  
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.*

Me also, thou, O *Stilicho*, didst aide,  
By neighbouring Nations overran, she said;  
When *Scots* brought *Irish* to my fertile shores,  
And *Thetis* foam'd, plow'd with invading Oars.  
Yet I not fear'd the *Scots*, nor *Pictish* Hoast,  
Nor *Saxons* sayling to invade our Coast.

Elsewhere he affirms the same thing, as thus:

(f) *Claud. lib. de  
Bello Getico.*

(f) *Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,  
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci; ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.*

The Legion on the *British* borders lay,  
Which curb'd the valiant *Scot*, and did survey  
The steel-cut figures on the dying *Pict*:

And again in another place.

(g) *Claud. lib.*

(g) *domito quod Saxone Tethys  
Mitior, aut fracto securâ Britannia Picto.*

The waves to beaten *Saxons* were more milde,  
Or *Britannie* the *Picts* by force exile.

(h) *Carol. Mo-  
lineus De Orig.  
Monarch. Fran-  
cica part. I. alii-  
que.*

\* *Saxo consum-  
ptus bellis nava-  
libus afferetur:  
Lat. Pecatus Di-  
epanus Paneg. ad  
Theodos.*

I know well enough, that the actions of *Stilicho* are diversely related by others, from what you meet with in *Claudian*, and therefore what he saies, (h) is reputed but for Poetical figments. But as wise men as them think not so; for whatever you read of in *Claudian* about him, depends upon sure grounds, and granted by such, whose knowledge of the *Saxons* outgoes *Hengists* time. For that they a long while before, in the beginning of *Valentinians* Empire, annoyed the *Britans* and their Coasts, we have good authority. *Saxones Brittannos arumnis vexavere continuis*, saith *Ammianus lib. XXVIII*. In \* *Theodosius* his time they are neer spoiled at Sea, where they used to rove. And within not so long after, we find that to keep off their violence and fury



fury from the Island, (i) *Comitem littoris Saxonici per Britanniam* placed here, with forces assigned him for that purpose, so that I need not to look for further proof, out of the forenamed *Panegyrick*, or else out of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, or any where else, to defend our good Poet: sure I am there are far worse fictions told by some of our Historians in prose.

(i) *Notitia Imperii Occidentis*

I more hearken after them, who cry out, *Enough of this Valium*. There is more than fitting said of it already. Well then be it so. We will therefore have the less to say to *Gallio Ravenas*, and his Legion, with the Wall he built here for the *Britans* safety: for which I refer you to *Paulus Diaconus*, *Blandus*, and others. As I would also have you, for those raised afterwards by the *Britans* themselves, for the same purpose to go to *Gildas* in his *Epistle*, in which you have the miseries of those, and the times neer thereupon lively described, And to him you may adde the Venerable *Bede*, who as is well known, hath most out of him, in the twelfth Chapter of his first Book of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English*, as it is vulgarly intituled. As for *Gildas* his Latine, because it is generally harsh and forced, I let it alone, and commend the Reader to his English, which is commonly to be had in *Pauls Church-yard*. Take *Beda* then, as smoother, and easier to be dealt withall, by the ordinary English man, if ever he were at the Latin School. “*Exin Britannia, saith he, omni armato milite, militaribus copiis universis, tota floridæ juventutis alacritate spoliata, quæ tyrannorum temeritate abducta, nusquam ultra domum rediit, prædæ tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara. Denique subito duabus gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scottorum à Circio, Pictorum ab Aquilonæ multos stupet gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus hæc gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia à parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus mari interjacentibus, quorum unus ab Orientali mari, alter ab Occidentali, Britanniae terras longe lateque irrumpit, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere possint. Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Guidi. Occidentalis super se, hoc est, ad dextram sui habet urbem Alcluith quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluith: est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius. Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium, Britones Legatos Romam cum Epistolis mittentes, lachrymosis precibus auxilia flagitabant, subjectionemque continuam, dummodo hostis imminens longius arceretur, promittebant. Quibus mox Legio destinatur armata, quæ ubi in Insulam advecta, & congressa est cum hostibus, magnam eorum multitudinem sternens, cæteros sociorum finibus expulit, eosque interim à dirissima depressione liberatos, hortata est, instruere inter duo maria trans Insulam Murum, qui arcendis hostibus posset esse præsidio: sicque domum cum triumpho magno re-* versa

Vide Bedam lib. I. cap. I.



\* Vide Bed. lib.  
4. cap. 26. &  
Vsser. De Prim.  
Eccles. Britan.  
pag. 602.

(a) Vetus Chro-  
nicon apud non  
excespitibus Val-  
lun a Penult.  
ad Civitatem  
Aclind; in eo-  
dem loco murus  
lapideus altus pe-  
des XII. crassus  
VIII. pedes, quo  
Severi ex cespi-  
tibus factus est.  
Camd. in Ottu-  
dinis. Vsserius p.  
655. 1026.  
1068.  
\* Saxonum.  
\* Vide Vsserium  
pag. 1027.

“ versa est. At *Insulani Murum*, quem jussi fuerant, non tam  
“ lapidibus, quam cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum  
“ tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt. Fe-  
“ cerunt autem cum inter duo freta, vel sinus (de quibus dixi-  
“ mus:) maris per millia passuum plurima. Ut ubi aquarum  
“ munitio deerat, ibi præsidio *Valli* fines suos ab hostium irrup-  
“ tione defenderent. Cujus operis ibidem facti, id est, *Valli la-  
“ tissimi* & altissimi usque hodie certissima vestigia cernere licet.  
“ Incipit autem duorum firme millium spatio a monasterio  
“ \* *Aiburcurnig* ad Occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum  
“ *Peanuabel*, lingua autem Anglorum *Penueltun* appellatur, &  
“ tendens contra Occidentem terminatur juxta urbem *Alcluith*.  
“ Verum priores inimici ut Romanum militem abiisse conspex-  
“ erant, mox advecti navibus irrumpunt terminos, cæduntque  
“ omnia, & quasi maturum segetem obvia quæque metunt,  
“ calcant, transeunt. Unde rursus mittuntur *Romani* legati,  
“ flebili voce auxilium implorantes, ne penitus misera patria  
“ deleteretur, ne nomen Romanæ provinciæ, quod apud eos  
“ tam diu claruerat, exterarum gentium improbitate obru-  
“ tum vilesceret. Rursus mittitur *Legio*, quæ inopinata tem-  
“ pore *autumni* adveniens, magnas hostium strages dedit, eosque  
“ qui evadere poterant omnes trans maria fugavit, qui prius  
“ anniversarias prædas trans maria, milite nullo obsistente, coge-  
“ re solebant. Tum *Romani* denunciavere *Britonibus*, non se  
“ ultra ob eorum defensionem tam laboriosis expeditionibus  
“ posse fatigari, ipsos potius monent arma corripere, & certan-  
“ di cum hostibus studium subire, qui non ob aliam causam,  
“ quam si ipsa inertia solverentur, eis possent esse fortiores;  
“ quin etiam quia & hoc sociis, quos derelinquere cgebantur,  
“ aliquod commodi allaturum, putabant, Murum a mari ad  
“ mare recto tramite inter urbes, quæ ibidem ob metum hosti-  
“ um factæ fuerunt (ubi & Severus quondam Vallum fecerat)  
“ firmo de lapide locarunt. Quem videlicet Murum hætenus  
“ famosum atque conspicuum, sumptu publico privatoque ad-  
“ juncta secum Britannorum manu, construebant, (a) octo pe-  
“ des latum, & duodecim altum, recta ab Oriente in occasum  
“ linea, ut usque hodie intuentibus clarum est. Quo mox con-  
“ dito, dant fortia segni populo monita, prebent instruendo-  
“ rum exemplaria armorum. Sed & in littore Oceani ad meri-  
“ diem, quo naves eorum habebantur, quia & inde Barbaro-  
“ rum irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum  
“ maris collocant, & valedicunt sociis tanquam ultra non rever-  
“ suri; Quibus ad sua remeantibus, cognita *Scotti Pictique* re-  
“ ditus denegatione redeunt confestim ipsi, & solito confidenti-  
“ ores facti, omnem *Aquilonarem* extremamque Insuli partem  
“ \* pro indigenis ad *Murum* usque capeffunt. Statuiter ad hæc  
“ in adito arcis acies segnis, ubi tremante corde stupida diu  
“ noctuque



"nocturne marcebat. At contra non cessant uncinata hostium  
"tela. Ignavi propugnatores miserrime de *Muris* tracti solo  
"allidebantur. Quid plura? relictis civitatibus, ac *Muro*, fu-  
"giunt, disperguntur: Insequitur hostis, accelerantur strages,  
"cunctis crudeliores prioribus. Sicut enim agni a feris, ita mi-  
"seri cives discerpuntur ab hostibus.

But not long after the sudden demolishing of this last Wall, a miserable appearance of all things was to be seen in *Britain*; in expression of which, good *Gildas* (a) plays the *Tragædian*; and mentioning their Letters to the Romans for aid, which yet they sent not, *Aetio tertium Consule*, he tells us they were thus inscribed: *Gemitus Britannorum*, containing such lamentable complaints as these: *Repellunt Barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad Barbaros. Inter hac duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur, aut mergimur.* This sad misfortune, and comfortless condition, happened to the Britans during the Consulship of *Actius* the III. time, and *Symmachus* his Colleague, in the twenty and third year of the Reign of *Theodisius* the younger; and in the 446 of Christ; according to (b) *Beda* out of him.

(a) *Gild. in Epist. De excidio Britannie.*

(b) *Eccles. hist. lib. I. cap. 13.*

If any, with our (c) *Camden*, following (a) *Baronius*, be offended either with the Consuls name, (for in the most copies of *Beda*, I mean not the best, you have *Boetio* for *Aetio*, which *Camden* seems to maintain:) or with the account of years, he shall find *Beda* justified and cleared by the incomparable (e) *Vulsher*. I shall adde no more therefore, after that I have explained and set down the draught and course of the *Vallum*, here principally intended, and that from as sufficient (f) *antiquari inspectores*, as any ever beheld it, since the first raising thereof.

(c) *Camden. Brit. pag. 77. 94. 95.*

(d) *Baron. Ann. 446. sect. I.*

(e) *D. Vulsherius pag. 369 370.*

(f) *Sr. Rob. Cotton. Eq. Baronett. Guil. Camdenus Claren Ciculx.*

The course of the *Vallum* then began at *Blatum-Bulgium*, or *Bullness*, by the Irish Ocean, and goes along the Frith, or mouth of *Eden*, by *Burgh upon Sands* to *Carlile*, where it passeth the *Eden*, from thence it goes along, and having on one side the River *Irthing*, it passeth over the small River *Cambeck* which hath in it many windings, and where many reliques are of an old Castle, afterwards passing the *Irthing* and *Poltrosse*, it enters *Northumberland*, and amongst the frequent heaps of hills holding on along the river, which they call the *Southern Tine*, (only divided by the *Northern Tine*, making a breach in it, where of old time a Bridge was laid over it:) it goes on even to the *German Ocean*.



## AD PORTUM RITUPIIS.

Of this Station I have spoken enough at the very beginning of this *Itinerary*. It is the very last of this *Journey*.

CCCCCLXXI. M. P. ] The whole sum of the miles in this Journey, is in the vulgar Copies of *Antoninus* 481. set in the beginning thereof, and it is mended in some 491. But neither number will neer agree with the particulars, if you sum them up together; for they come to 510. *Surita* the *Spaniard*, who used good store of Manuscripts, of which yet we are wholly destitute, brings us here among his *Var. Lectiones* (for so *Thuanus* had rather call them, then *Commentarii*, as himself doth :) no help, or direction by them. That no fault should happen among so many worthy Transcribers, was a thing not to be expected. But our good *Antoninus* hath been so unlucky (which is the complaint of all that have had to do with him :) as to be corrupted in things least curable by the very *Chirons* of Criticism, yet most proclive to error in such unlearned and heedless hands, *Numbers* I mean, and proper *Names*, of which yet he only consists.

Have the whole Journey therefore, as it is in the vulgar Editions. As we go along, we will take notice of what may be rectified, in hope to reconcile the particular numbers, with the summary, if possibly it may be.

ITER.



ITER. II.

Editio

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

ITER A VALLO AD  
PORTUM RITUPAS.  
M.P. CCCCLXXXI. sic;

Ablato Bulg.

Lugu-vall.

\* 16.

Ifuriam.

Eburacum. 18.

Cacaria.

Cambodun.

\* Vici.

Urio, Con.

Penno-Cruc.

Mandues-Sed \* 16.

Bennavent. 16.

Vero-Lam.

Sullonac.

Duroprovis.

\* 16.

Durorvern.

A BLATO BULGIO CASTRA

EXPLORATORUM.M.P.\*XII

LUGUVALLUM. M. P. XII.

VOREDAM. M. P. XIII.

BROVONACIM. M. P. XIII.

VERTERIM. M. P. \* XIII.

LAVATRIM. M. P. XIII.

CATARACTONEM.M.P.\*XIII.

ISURIUM. M. P. XXIII.

EBORACUM. M. P. XVII.

CALCARIAM. M. P. IX.

CAMULODUNUM. M. P. XX.

MAMUCIUM. M. P. XVIII.

CONDATE. M. P. XVIII.

DEVAM.Leg.XX\*Vi&trixM.P.XX

BOVIUM. M. P. X.

MEDIOLANUM. M. P. XX.

RUTUNIUM. M. P. XII.

VIROCONIUM. M. P. XI.

UXACONAM. M. P. XI.

PENNOCRUCIUM. M. P. XII.

ETOCETUM. M. P. XII.

MANDUESSEDUM. M.P.\*VI.†

VENONIM. M. P. XII.

BENNAVENNAM. M. P. XVII.

LACTODORUM. M. P. XII.

MAGIOVINTUM. M. P. \* XVII.

DUROCOBRIVIM. M. P. XII.

VEROLAMIUM. M. P. XII.

SULLONIACIM. M. P. XI.

LONDINIUM. M. P. XII.

NOVIOMAGUM. M. P. X.

VAGNIACIM. M. P. XVIII.

DUROBRIVIM. M. P. IX.

DUROLEVUM. M. P. \* XIII.

DUROVERNUM. M. P. XII.

AD PORTUM RITUPAS. M.P.X.

Ablat.

\* 10, & 15.

Lugu-vall.

\* al. 20.

\* 16.

Ifuriam.

Eburacum. 18.

Cambodun.

Mammuc.& Manuc.

\* Leg. XXIII. Cl.

Urio, Con.

Penno-Cruc.

†16.Mandues-Sed.

Bennavent.& Bann.

Lactorod.

Magint. \* 12.

Duro-Cobr.

Vero-Lam.

Sullomac. 9.

Longidin.

Duro-brov.

S

BLA.



**BLATUM BULGIUM.**] This Station was not distant a full mile from *Severus Wall*; whose foundations are easily discerned in *Ituna* at an ebbing tide. So is *Eden* called by *Ptolemy*, by which this place of old stood; so that *Robert Talbot* was quite out, seeking for it by *Glota* or *Edenborough-Frith*. Some part of the old name being yet preserved, it is at this day called *Bulnesse*, which is said to be but a very small village, yet hath it to shew what it was, a Bulwark yet remaining, besides the draught of the old Streets, and antient Walls; as our Antiquary witnesses; who also derives *Bulgium* from a word among the old Britains *Bulch*; signifying a *partition*, or *Separation*; because the *Wall* being somewhat like some God *Terminus*, as he speaks out of the Poet; ——— \* *Ansonii* *signet divortia regni*; or seperates the Roman power from the rest of the Island not yet fully reduced. *Josias Simler* mistakes it for *Aballaba*, a Station also in Cumberland: of which see more out of the *Notitia* of the Western Empire. As I know not what *Blatum* means; so I know that to read it *Blotum*, with *Holyoke* is against the Authority of all Copies. This and the like is noted for Schooles, that young men there may not be deceived, what ever the word *Blatum* stands for.

\* Geo. Buchan.

**CASTRA EXPLORATORUM. M. P. XII.]** The remoteness of this Station from *Blatum Bulgium* is severally set down: as XII. M. P. in *Aldus*, and others: which is altered into X. and XV. as not onely appears by *Simler*, but by the severall Manuscripts which *Surita* brings. The distance here however, where (as I must elsewhere also often warn;) the way is not alwaies by the shortest cut, but most an end by the more noted Garrisons; doth suite well, as well from *Bulness*; as *Carleil*, to make it, as our Antiquary, an eye-witnesse of the Situation of the place, and that upon second thoughts, is perswaded, to have been that which we now call *Burgh upon Sands*; for he waves their opinion, as besides the mark, who would have it to be *Drumbough Castle*. And we may also neglect *Talbot's* conceit, who was quite wide, when he dreamt this to be *Alata Castra* in (a) *Ptolemy*. *Castra* indeed was the usuall word for a Camp, or place of residence of Souldiers. But these *Castra* being called *Exploratorum*, they are in all likelihood to be sought for upon the Frontiers. The Grecians called them *πλεῖς ἐφορίας*, or *Limitanea Urbes*: as *Aristides* the (b) *Oratour*; after whose time also they began to name them *κᾰσεα*, or *κᾰσεια*. One of these two words must necessarily be restored in (c) *Menander* the Rhetorician, for it is read in him hitherto without any sence, *τὰς καλεμένους κασεῖας*: which being turned into *κᾰσεα* would clear all doubt.

(a) Περὶ τῶν  
ἐξελύμενων.  
*Ptolemy*  
*Edenborough.*

(b) *Aristid. En-*  
*com. II. Romæ.*  
(c) *Menander in*  
*Methodo laudan-*  
*dar. Urbium.*  
*for. sub Maurilio*  
*imp.*

For



For nought else in this place of the Author can be meant. Not to defraud any man of his due right, the emendation is learned

(d) *Isaac Casaubon's.*

(d) *Casaub. in Spartian.*

Many else of this kind may be observed to have been in Britain, to watch the courses of the Enemy. Besides the *Aræani*, spoken of erewhile out of (e) *Marcellinus*; you may remember the *Numeri Exploratorum* mentioned in an old Stone in BREMENIUM in the first Journey beyond the Wall. On this side the Wall too you have at *Lavatres sub dispositione V. Spectabilis Ducis. Britanniarum Præfectum Numeri Exploratorum*. So that I need not have recourse to the South of the Island, to ADURNI PORTUS; where also was usually a (f) *Præpositus Numeri Exploratorum sub Dispositione Viri Spectabilis Comitæ Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*.

(e) *Marcel. lib. Hist. 28.*

(f) *Notitia Imp. Occidentis.*

The situation of the place is round about here, saith Camden, who was there, *ad explorandum commodissimus*, and gives good reason for it, as you may please to see. To speak a word or two at large my self to the youth concerning these *Exploratores*.

In Greek they were called *κατάσκοποι*, which *Eustathius* renders (g) *αἱ τελλόμενοι εἰς πολέμους*. Thereby he also interprets *Homers ἐπισκοπῶ*, as *Andromache* intitles her husband *Hector*, a *Protector* or *Defendor*, that carefully lookt about for the safety of *Troy*. It signifies a Scout then (h) commonly in Greek, and it is as well used as a *Latine* Word for a *Post*, who speedily conveys news of Importment: (i) *A. Hirtius*, if it be not rather *Oppius*: *Literis*, saith he, *celeriter scriptis, & per Cata scopum missis*. Whom *Plutarch* in the life of *Galba* names *δοπτηγῆς καὶ διαγῆς*, those *Marcellinus* calls *Speculatores* one while, another while *Excursatores*: as who had the office to look after the courses the Enemy took, and to learn out their counsels; and their place was alwaies to (k) march before the Army. In (l) *Dio* they are *ὠτακυσῆντες καὶ δοπτεύοντες στρατῶται*, who in the same Writer (m) elsewhere are called *δοπταὶ καὶ ἐρευνηταὶ*. And he likewise, distinguishes between their order, or rank, and them who are commonly called *πτεροφόροι*, or *Tabellarii*; which notwithstanding learned men sometimes confound. *Glossæ βασιλικῶν. Εξπλόρατοι, πρέσβεις, ἀποκλεισάδαιοι, καὶ ἐκπλωράτωρες*. Which I will interpret by (n) *Victors* words. *Ad explorandum missi nunciandumque si qui hostium motus existerent*.

(g) *Eustat. Par. in Iliad. K.*

(h) *Epist. ad Ebraeos II. 31.*

(i) *Lib. de Bell. Africano.*

(k) *Zosim. l. 3. Marcel. lib. 24.*

(l) *Dio lib. 55. pag. 561.*

(m) *Fragm. à Ful. Vrsino edit. num. 83.*

(n) *Vict. in Caesaribus.*

You have in (o) *Constantinus Porphyrogenneta* the Emperour *Σκελετόρες*: and (p) elsewhere in him *σβελετόρες*. In the former place *Jo. Meursius* hath restored *ἐξσκελετόρες* and renders it *Exploratores*. In the other place *Bon. Vulcanius* restores it

(o) *Constant. de Administrando Imperio cap. 59.*

(p) *Constant. de Thematibus Orientis.*



Σκελετοί, *nomine*, saith he, *ea tempestate usitata pro* Auscultato-  
 res; But of these, not to hold the Reader weary any longer;  
 let him see the incomparable (q) Lawyer at his leasure, when  
 he thinks good.

(q) Iacob. Cujac  
 observat. lib. 6.  
 cap. 33.

As *Cumberland*, of all the shires we have, is accounted the  
 best furnished with Roman Antiquities, so doth this portion of  
 it hereabouts supply us with the knowledge of somewhat in our  
 affairs, whereof in books there is *altum silentium*. As some mat-  
 ters of *Commodus* the Emperour. First *Fuscianus* II. *Silanus* II.  
*Coss.* Then how *Atticus* and *Prætextatus* being *Coss.* under *Gordi-*  
*an*, that *Nonnius Philippus* was *Proprator* or *Legate* in Britain, and  
*Æmilus Crispinus*, an African, was Commander of the *Ala Au-*  
*gusta Gordiana*. Next there may be seen *Inscriptions* to *M. Juli-*  
*us Philippus* the Emperour, and his Son; neither the same with  
*Gordians* Legat here: yet both succeeded in the Empire.  
 There were found *Inscriptions* also to some *Topicall* Gods; as

(r) Vide Clariss.  
 Selden. De Dis  
 Syriis Syntagm.  
 2. cap. 1.

(r) *Deo Sancto Belatucadro*, and *Deo Cei*: of which in another  
 place better.

(s) V. BINO.  
 VIRM lib. 1.

LUGUVALLUM M. P. XII.] That *Luguvallum*  
 here, or *Lugubalia* among the Monks, was *Carleil*, is past all  
 doubt, by the affirmation of all ages down along. The diffe-  
 rence in the names hath already been satisfied for, as where you  
 say *Ballum* for *Vallum*, and (s) elsewhere too. So there will  
 be no trouble about that. But rather about the origination of  
 the name, wherein *Leland* doth fowly boggle, and yet not  
 clearly expedite himself. *Camden* some deal better, as who was  
 far more skilled in learned Antiquities. He then deduces it  
 from the famous *Vallum* neer which it was, and *Lugor*, or such  
 a like word, which signifies a Tower, and concludes it so, by

(t) Ptol. Geog.  
 lib. 2.

(v) Melal. 3. De  
 situ Orbis. c. 1.

(x) Hodie Oluca  
 vel Luga Siml.  
 in Anton. p. 281

(y) Λακοτεία,  
 Ptol.

(z) Gal. Monm.  
 in Brit. Hist. lib.  
 1. cap. 8.

(a) Plut. lib. de  
 fluminibus.

\* Λαγοδεσνόν  
 μὲν ὀνομασθέν  
 ὡς δὲ Λύγ-  
 δεσνόν καλέμε-  
 νον. Dio l. 46.

comparing (t) *Ptolemy* with (v) *Pomponius Mela*. For in the for-  
 mer the place that is called Λακοτεία, is in the later named  
 (x) *Turris Augusti*. So that *Luguvallum* must signify the Tower  
 or Muniment by the *Vallum*. And had the French Antiquaries  
 taken this course in deriving the names of their two ancient and  
 principal Cities *Lugdunum*, and (y) *Lucotetia*; they had not  
 made themselves so ridiculous to strangers, deducing the one  
 from *Lutum*, Dirt; and the other from *Lugdus*, I know not  
 what imaginary King who built it; which I will as soon  
 believe, as the building of *Turonum*, by *Turonus*, in (z)  
*Geofrey* of *Monmouth*, vouching for it *Homer*; but it is not  
 my good lucke to know where. I like better the origi-  
 nation thereof, which I finde in (a) *Plutarch* if he be  
 the Author of the Book περὶ ποταμῶν, where he saies out  
 of *Clitophon's* περὶ κροτίων 17 that *Lugdunum* was so called be-  
 cause the foundations of the City being laid, the Crows sud-  
 denly appearing with fluttering wings, filled all the Trees there-  
 about. λαγον δ. saith he, τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν λόγον καλεῖσθαι δένον δὲ ἔ-  
 χοντα.



ἐξέχοντα. So that \* *Lugdunum* by this must signifie the *Crows hill*. And truly as many Cities of *Gaul* and *Britain* as end in *Dunum*, and there are not a few, are found placed upon hills, or rising grounds. The *Grecians* called such kind of higher places *Βρυῆς*, which word the *Grammarians* (b) out of *Herodotus* say, is *Libyan*. See more in (c) *Eustathius* upon *Homer*. But much rather do I like that which is to be had, set before the *Itineraries* published by *Andr. Schottus* being a short glossary out of *P. Pithæus* Library, expounding certain *Gallique* words, among which you have *Lugdunum*, *Desideratus mons*, wherein you have likewise the signification of *Dunum* asserted and made good. For though other Writers consent not with *Plutarch*, concerning the deduction of the former part of the name, as we see, and may do also by *Henricus Benedictus Altissiodorensis*, who wrote neer eight hundred years agoe, in the age of *Carolus Calvus*, in (a) the life of *St. German*, in these verses.

\* Vide Geo. Buchan. Rerum Scotticarum l. 2.

(b) Herod. in Melpomene.  
(c) Eustat. in Odyss. ipso statim initio.

(a) Altiss. de vita S. Ger. l. 4.

*Lugduno celebrant Gallorum famine nomen  
Impositum quondam, quod sit Mons lucidus idem.*

The antient Gaul, thy noble Pile,  
From thy bright Hill, *Lugdunum* stile.

Yet they do generally in the hinder part thereof. As besides others (b) *Seneca*, in that Epistle where he tells of the burning of *Lugdunum*: *Civitas* (saith he) *uni imposita & huic non altissimo monti*. Wherewith the learned (c) *Vossius* with very good judgment mended that place in *Strabo* (d) *Ἀεγδαρον ἐκτισμένον ὑπὸ λόφῳ*, reading it *ἐπὶ λόφῳ*. Such being the situation of the place. Now whereas it cannot be denyed, but that *Luguwallum* was a Station or place neer the *Vallum*, give me leave to speak freely what I think of it, namely that *Æl. Spartianus* in the life of *Severus* doth intend no other Mansion but it, in these words. *Post Murum aut Vallum missum in Britannia, quum ad proximam Mansionem rediret, non solum Victor, sed etiam in æternum pace fundata, volvens animo, quidominis sibi occurreret; Æthiops quidam è numero militari, &c.* The very situation leads me to think, that he means none other by that *Proximam Mansionem*, then *Luguwallum*, or *Carleil*. Besides, that which mainly induces me to beleeve so, is that the *Sixth Legion*, having dispatched the service *Severus* set them upon, the rearing of the Wall, left behind them here a remembrance of themselves, yet to be seen, in large and elegant Characters.

(b) Sen. Epist. XCI.

(c) De Græcis Hist. lib. 3.  
(d) Strab. Geog. lib. IV.

LEG.



LEG. VI.  
VIC. P. F.  
G. P. R. F.

There is to be seen here likewise another Inscription, but of a later age, made to preserve the memory of *Marcus Trojanus*, set up by his *Dearest Wife*, which they that will, may see in *Camden*.

About the times of *William II. William of Malmesbury*, speaking, hath these Words. *Visum erat triclinium Romanum ex lapidibus fornicibus concameratum, quod nulla unquam tempestatum contumelia, aut ignium flamma labefactari potuit, in cuius fronte inscriptum erat MARII VICTORIAE.* The Wits of the former age, did severally exercise themselves, to know what the meaning might be; some contending it belonged to *Arviragus*, who in the British story is called *Marius*; others thought it that \* *Marius*, who in *Gallienus* his time was saluted Emperor. But much amiss. Our Antiquary informs us that the best Copies of *Malmesbury* had written *MARTI VICTORII*; and that he likes best, as I do also. Such Inscriptions are not difficultly to be come by every where. And having no Manuscripts of *Malmesbury* at hand, I must be content. So much therefore of *Luguvallum* shall be said at this time. Adding this onely, that *Lugubalia*, from which contracted the Saxons name \* *Luel*, by which they called this Town, was written at the Monks pleasure, with a single or double L. but the later is the best. The Reader I hope will of himself take notice of the *Enallage generis*: and why, with others, I refer him not to *Lucopia* in *Ptolemy*, he shall know, when I come to it.

V O R E D A M. P. XIII. ] The distance of this Station from *Luguvallum* (though a long while I thought it to be *incertae positionis* and that for the very names sake it self:) is such that I can better confute *Talbot* in assigning where it was, then positively affirm any thing my self. He would have it be *Ptolemies* *Ὀρρεα*, far away remote among the *Venicones*, a people in old time of that we now call *Scotia*, which he with others say was *Newcastle*; but that too is too too much distant, then that it can agree with the number of miles set down here. But more of that God willing to *Ptolemy*.

*Camden* in his Catalogue of the antient Cities of Britain, sets down to this *Voreda*, *Old Perith*, and saies nothing else of it in his great work; of which I know not what to say, but that it was an ἀμείψιμα μνημονεύον of his: for *Old Perith* is elsewhere called

\* Emperour but for three daies; He had been a Smith, and was kild with a sword of his own making; by a servant of his slighted by him. *Treb. in 30. Tyrannis.*  
\* Whence Cair *Luel*, and in time *Carleil*.



led by him *Petriana*, mentioned in the *Notitia*, called so either from the river of a like name running neer or from the *Ala Petriana* residing there, as is to be seen by an old Inscription, which might occasion the alteration of the name *Voreda* into *Petriana*, I list not here to determine. However look for *Petriana* as you were before directed.

The learned *Fulk* will have *Voreda* to have been *Wedend*, not without some kinde of agnomination; but because I know where it hath its being, I will say no more of it.

BR OVONACIS. M. P. XIII.] So here. But in the fift Journey *Brocovo*; as *Talbot* and *Surita* read it, but *Brocovo*, as *Aldus* and *Simler*. They are both the same Mansion: for in both Journeys you finde it between *Luguwallum* and *Vertera*; saving that here *Voreda* interposes between it, and *Luguwallum*. Yet is not *Talbot's* conclusion so sure: (f) *Porro quæ hic est Voreda inter Brovonacas, & Luguwallum, illic est omiffa; & numeri aut hic, aut illic sunt mendosi, & depravati. Nam cum hic sit Luguvalio Voredam, XIV. & Voreda Brovonacas XIII. si in summam redigas, habebis. XXVII. Quamobrem aut illic esse debet Brovo. Luguwallum XXVII. aut hic duo particulares numeri sunt minuendi, aut certe eorum alter; sic ut simul uniti non nisi XXV. faciant.* For some miles may be gained, in not taking in a Town by the way, but directly going on. For they usually marched not strait forward, but wheeled about sometimes, as we see plainly; according as their occasions required. In the V. Journey *Talbot* would have it read *Brovo*, the syllable *ca* being superfluous, *Debetque esse*, saith he, *Brovo, quod est brevium pro integro Brovonacis Itin. II.* That it was the same Station with *Brocovicus* in the *Notitia*, our *Harrison* hath observed after *Simler*; but both are overseen in the name. But plainly it was the same Station with *Bravoniaco* there, where it is also placed next to *Vertera*, as not only *Surita*, *Camden*, and *Pancirolus* (who amiss names it *Broconiacum*) have observed: but even the matter it self tells us. The very words of the *Notitia* are: *Sub dispositione V. Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum Præfectus Numeri Defensorum Bravoniaco.* At this day it is called *Brougham* in *Westmerland*, in which some reliques of the old name yet remain. Besides *Roman* Coyns here often digged up, it is taken notice of for an antient *Camp* or *Castra*; other Antiquities age it self hath consumed.

(f) *Talbot. Annot. in Anton. Itiner. Ms.*

VERTERÆ. M. P. XIII.] But the emendation which *Talbot* brings, is XX. and that is confirmed by two of *Surita's* Manuscripts in the other it is XIII. as here. But in the fift Journey it is XX. miles from *Brovonaca* to *Verteris*: and it is thought the better reading, because as they say; (a) *Eadem est via Athenis Thebas, & Thebis Athenas.* *Vertera*, it is thought, stood not far off *Ituna* or *Eden* in *Westmerland*; where it joines it self with

(a) *Arist. Phys. lib.*



(b) *Veget. De  
via militari lib.  
4. cap. 10.*

\* *A. Gr.  
πύργος.*

(c) *Hist. lib. 7.  
cap. 22.*

with other Streams. Now it is decayed into a small village, and its name is turned among us into *Burgh*. For our Countrey men call it *Burgh under Stanemore*; or as our Monks name it *Burgus sub Saxeto*. *Vegetius* (b) tells us that under the later Emperours, small Castles, convenient for War, and well stored with Corn for provision, began to be called *Burgi*, and that the *Burgundians* had their name from living in such, (c) *Paulus Orosius* is sufficient Author. *Burgundionum quoque novorum hostium novum nomen, qui plusquam octoginta millia ut ferunt armatorum, ripe Rheni fluminis insederunt. Hos, quondam subacta interiore Germania à Druso & Tiberio, adoptatis filiis Cæsaris, per castra dispositos, aiunt in magnam coaluisse gentem, atque ita etiam nomen ex opere præsumpsisse, quia crebra per limitem habitacula constituta, Burgos Vulgo vocant: eorumque esse, prævalidam & perniciosam maxum, Gallie hodieque testes sunt.* *Camden* does boldly assure that this *Burgh* was this *Vertera*; both in regard of the exact distance from the next Stations on both sides *Browniaca*, and *Lavatra*, our miles being resolved into the Italick; as also because it stands upon the *High Way*, whose ridge here plainly appears. The *Notitia* also of the *West*, mentions this Station: *Sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum Præfectus Numeri Directorum Verteris.* The name of this Station in the *Notitia* had quite perished, had it not been recovered out of this place; for before it was *Veneris*, *Veterum*, without sense or probability of tolerable meaning. But finding it here it seems to me to have lasted so long, till the Roman power expired in the Island.

LAVATRIS. M. P. XIII. ] The Military Port way hence tending somewhat more Southernly, brings you to old *Lavatris*, as it is called here. So in the V. Journey it is *Levatris*; yet the same distance there between *Verteris* and it, exactly as is here. That which principally shews forth its Antiquity is a brave Stone (such sure the Parson and Parish thought it, when they used it for an Altar in their Church:) found out there inscribed to *Hadrian* the Emperour thus:

(e) *Ὀυέλ-  
τωρες.*

*Strab. At Vet-  
torum alas  
locus probat  
æquore aperto.  
Sil. Italicas.*

(d) *Ulpian. Di-  
gest. lib. 28. tit.  
6. leg. 2. sect. 4.  
Prius autem.  
vide Eclog. quæ  
tribuuntur  
Theodosio ex  
Dione. Item Ric.  
Vitum Hist.  
Brit.*

*Imp. Cæsari Divi Trajani Parthici Max. Filio Divi Nervæ Nepoti  
Trajano Hadriano Aug. Pont. Maxm. ————— Cos. I. —  
————— P. P. Coh. IIII. F. ————— Jo. Sev.*

There was another Inscription likewise taken up here, but somewhat maimed; yet thereby it appears that I. Cohort of the *Thracians* resided here under the command of one *Frontinus*, Neither left they the Island so. For again under *Severus* we find in the same place, that the same Cohort who are said to have rebuilt the *Bath* there consumed with fire under the oversight and care of *Val. Fronto* Commander of a wing of the (e) *Vettones* (a people of Spain:) (d) *Virius Lupus* being at that time



time *Legat* or *Proprator*. The dedication of this piece of Antiquity is *DE Æ FORTUNÆ*. If any doubt concerning the word *Ballineum*, let them have recourse to (e) *Sosipater*, (f) *Aldu*, and others. Much less let him marvel to find *Baths* in garrisoned Towns, who shall take notice of such infinite numbers of them both publick and private, in (g) *Rome*, whose example was every where proposed abroad to imitate, but not alwaies in the use of *Baths*: Stricter times and Commanders sometimes forbad them, and would not admit them either for cleanliness or healths sake. For (h) *Polyænus* speaking of *Scipio*, and his restraint of corrupt discipline in his Army, tells us, he forbad that not any body should either use a silver drinking cup, or bathing among them. And (i) *Xiphilin* in his Epitome of *Dio* relates concerning *Caracalla*, that affecting a seeming austerity he marching along with the Souldiers never made use of any Bath. And hence is that of (k) *J. Chrysostome*. The Souldier minding Baths, is censured as one that runs away from his colours. And that judgement of the Wisest (l) *Historian* concerning the more civilized Britains, and reduced to the Roman fashion of feasting and bathing is very home and free. \* For after that, saith he, our attire grew to be in account, and the Gown much used among the Britains: *Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, & balnea, & convitiarum elegantiam idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset*. There is farther mention of this Station as in the *Notitia Occidentis*: *Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum Lavatris*, of whom before I have given notice. And yet our learned Antiquary, though his mind run too much upon the *Balineum* here *vi ignis exustum*, had rather deduce the name of the Mansion from *Laver*, a stream that runs by very neer, then à *Lavatris*. However he is confident upon good reasons, the fit distance from the next place already spoken of, and his finding it upon the *Military Way*, to affirm that it is at this day called *Bowes*: but the reasons for the name, I had rather you should have from him than me: and indeed, which is my rusticity, I understand not old British or *Welsh* so well.

CATARACTONI. M. P. XVI. ] This Station is written so curtail'd for *Cataractonium*, or if you will *Cataractonio*. As this is the distance here from *Lavatris*, so in the first Journey from *Binovia* it is distant XXII. M. P. of this I have already spoken.

T

IS II.

Brit. lib. 115. 5. Not. 17.  
Selden. Analec. l. i. c. 7.

(e) *Sosip. Charisius Instit. Gram. lib. 1.*

(f) *Ald. Manu. in Orthograph. &c.*

(g) *Vide Senecam Epist. 86. & Pub. victorem de regionibus urbis.*

(h) *Polyæn. lib. Straiagem. ἀρροβὴν ἐκ ποταμῶν μὴ ἔχειν καὶ λυεῖσθαι μὴ δύναι.*

(i) *καὶ γὰρ σωμαβάδης τοῖς στρατιώταις, μὴ λυτῶν χρωμένῳ.*

(k) *In Ep. i. ad Timotheum: στρατιώταις λυτοῖς σωματὶ ὡς λιποτάκτης κέλεται.*

(l) *Tacitus in Agricola vita.*

\* *Vide Consultiss. Virum Gulielmum Burtonum in Descriptione Leicestræ de quodam ibi Roman. Lavacro in ipsa urbe invento. pag. 161.*



ISURIAM. M. P. XXIV. ] The very distance in the first Journey, save that there it is set down *Isurium*.

EBURACUM. M. P. XVIII. ] In the first Journey it wants a Mile of this distance. You have also there added *Leg. VI. Victrix*.

CALCARIA. M. P. VIII. ] It is otherwise called *Cacaria*. Our Antiquary placeth it by (m) *Verbeia*, at *Tadcaster*, agreeing therein with *Robert Marshall*, *politi iudicii Viro*, whom he names, as he saies, *honoris causa*. The same before them thought *Humphrey Lhuyd*: yet therein he is out, that he delivers it to be *Ptolemies Κάλαν*, which is rather *Antoninus* his *Gallacum*. But the former opinion is confirmed by the distance from *York*, for it is just IX. Italic Miles thence, which is the number also here. Again the nature of the Soyl, and the very account of the Name, makes it good. For it was called *Calcaria a calce*, a place well stored with *Chalk*. That *Calcaria* signified so much, there are sufficient Authorities. *Tertullian de carne Christi cap. VI. de Calcaria ad carbonariam*. *Ammianus lib. XXVII. Libentius se vino proprio Calcarias extincturum, quam ad veniurum precibus sperabatur*. That to these *Calcaria* offending persons were condemned (n). *Ulpian* is our Author; whence is it that in the (o) *Code* we read of the *Calcarientes*. From the *Calcaria* therefore, or *Limekills* here (as also to a place neer to *Marston* in this very book, and elsewhere also;) was this name *Calcaria* given, and there is no reason we should doubt of it: for *Chalke* scarce any where else in this whole Tract is to be found; yet about this Town it is still plentifully digged up, and for building conveyed to *York*, and the whole Countrey round.

(m) *Vlp. de pœ-  
nitis leg. VIII.*  
(o) *Cod. Theod.*  
*De decurionibus*  
*leg. 27.*

Nor want there other Arguments to prove its Antiquity, to let alone the Situation by the *Rode way*, *Coynes* of the *Roman Casars*, are often turned up, there remains the Reliques of the *Foss* or *Ditch*, with which it was environed, and the ruines of an old Castle, of which the Bridge was whilome made, which when the River *Wharf* had past under, it mingleth its Water with the *Ouse*, besides a Hill by the Town called *Kelk-bar*, seemeth yet to retain some part of the old Name.

(p) *Beda Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. c. 23.* After *Antoninus* (p) *Beda* also maketh mention of it, out of whom take the story too, if you will, which he relates. *Hinc religiosa Christi famula, quæ prima jœminarum fertur in provincia Nordanhumbroꝝ propositum vestemque sanctimoniabilis habitus consecrante Aidano Episcopo suscepisse, secessit ad civitatem Calca-*



Calcariam, quæ agente Anglorum Calca-celter appellatur, ibique mansionem sibi instituit.

CAMBODUNO. M. P. XX. ] Besides *Antoninus* you shall find mention also of this Mansion in our *Beda*. *Paulinus*, saith he, in provincia Deirorum, baptizabat in fluvio Sualva quæ vicum juxta Cataractam præterfluit. Non enim Uratoria vel Baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis Ecclesiæ poterant edificari. Attamen in Campo Dono (ubi nunc etiam villa Regia erat) fecit Basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, à quibus *Edwinus Rex* occisus est, cum tota eadem villa succenderunt. But he writes it with a P. in the second syllable, as *Strabo* writes Καμπόδονον, which *Munster* renders *Campidona*, that City of *Vindelicia* which in *Ptolemy* is called Καμβόδονον: moreover *Beda* divides the word *Campo-dona*, whence it is that of old K. *Alfred*. Βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ περὶ τ' ἀρχιμύτης, who translated his Ecclesiastical History into the *Saxon* or old English language above DCCC. years ago, renders it *Dona-felba*; although it was written in the Manuscript Copy of *Beda*, which was in the hands of that excellent Divine, Doctor *Samuel Ward*, Professor at *Cambridge*, *Campadono*, as we are taught by our Learned Friend *Abraham Wheelocke*, the Professor of *Arabick* at *Cambridge*, and publick Library keeper there.

In *Ptolemy* amongst the Cities of the *Brigantes* it is printed Καμβόδονον \* *Camulodunum*, for which in the *Palatine* Copie you have Καμυλόδονον; so that none now may wonder with (r) *Ortelius* whence *Ferdinand. Pintianus* had that reading. Which *Ortelius* notwithstanding not onely much thinks amisse, wherein he takes this *Cambodunum* hereto be the same with (s) *Plinies Camulodunum*, which he saith was distant from *Mona* about CC. miles: but also that he affirms that *Talbot*, and a man of singular learning, as he calls him, *William Camden*, did think that it was of old time called *West-chester*. For *Camdens* part he thought long agoe that the Situation of this *Cambodunum* was in old timeneer the right hand bank of the River *Calder* in *Yorkshire* by *Almondbury*, and that from the distance on one side from *Mancunium*, on the other side from *Calcaria*, which *Antoninus* himself sets down. Neer this village, saith he, *Cambodunum* sate, upon an hill sufficiently enough steep, to which there was no access, but upon one side onely: on it were some ruines of Walls, and manifest signes of a Camp. But *Secula vicerunt*, as the (t) Poet saies. That it was indeed seated upon an Hill the very name sufficiently shewes, for all Towns, for the most part beginning or ending in *Dunum*, are placed upon Hills. For in the old *Gallick* Tongue, the same with our *British*, *Dunum* signifies τὸν ἐξέχοντα a hill or rising peice of ground, as I have ere while told you out of *Plutarch*.

\* And so published amiss in *Antoninus* here.

(r) In *Synonymia Geograph.*  
(s) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 2. c. 75.*

(t) *Martial. lib. 7. Epig. 18.*



In the first *Saxon* times it flourished in great honour, as the place before brought out of *Beda* sufficiently witnesseth. But whereas he writes that the Church which *Paulinus* built, and dedicated to Saint *Alban* ( whence the place was called *Alban-bury*, at this time corrupted into *Almondbury* : ) was burnt by the Pagans. *Camden* who was an eye-witness affirms that to this day the colour of burning remains in the stones. *William Fulk* *Antoninus* to *Cambodunum* had *Camborough* noted : of which place yet, as unknown, we can suddenly determine nothing.

MANUCIO. M. P. XVIII. ] The reading of the name of this Station is very diverse. *Manucio* here. Otherwise *Mammucio*, *Mammuncio*, *Mamutio*, *Manutio*, *Mancinio*, as may be seen out of *Surita* and others, in whom yet there is no difference in matter of distance of the Miles : and in the X. Journey there is another Station set before it, there is the right name of it to be found *Mancunio* : of which see there. It is doubtless neer *Manchester* in *Lancashire*, which though it be said to belong to the old *Brigantes*, yet was not *Mancunium* one of their (u) *ἐπίσημοι πόλεις*, for we miss it in *Ptolemy*, and we may judge it to be that which at this day we call *Mancastle*, a Park neer the Town belonging sometimes to the Earl of *Derby*, where are to be seen *antiqui propugnaculi radices quadrata forma* ; although our Antiquary is unwilling to say so much because of its *angustum spatium* or narrow continent. Dr. *Dee* the famous Interpreter of *Euclide*, who lived there communicated to our learned Antiquary what Monuments of the Roman times remained, found there : among which one mentions the first (r) *Cohort* of the *Frisingenses*, who it seems resided sometimes here : those in him you may see. Nor have I ought else to say to it, save that *Maunguid* or *Mauchguid* in *Ninnius* his Catalogue of *British Cities* of the recension of the Incomparable \* Dr. *Usher*, and compared with the best *Manuscripts* is by him thought to be *Mancunium* : in case it be not rather *Manduesfedum* in *Warwickshire*, or *Manchester*, which he seems more inclined unto.

CONDATE. M. P. XVIII. ] *Congleton* is a Town generally noted in *Cheshire*. That it hath its standing where *condate*, celebrated of old by *Antoninus* XX. miles from *Deva*, had its being is unanimously agreed upon by *Talbot*, *Camden*, and others, as we see ; save that Dr. *Fulk* hath set down to it *Standish* a Town it should seem not far from thence. As for *Condate* there is great probability that it was in antient times a *Colony* deduced from *Condate* in *Gallia*, on the hither side of it. It was a place famous for the Exequies of Saint *Martin* : for (a) *Sulpicius Severus* is our Author : *Illum apud* (b) *Condatensem Diocesis sue vicum excessisse à vita* ; that he dyed at *Condate* a Town of his own *Diocesse*. *Ptolemy* assigns the situation of it more plainly calling it *Kordate in Rhedonibus*, and it was by the *Ligeris* or *Loir*.

The

(u) *Insignes urbes.*

(r) *Qui illi fuerint, præter Geographos, adissis Doctissimum Possum lib. De Latin. Hist. pag. 428, 429. contra insignem errorem Aeneæ Sylvii aliorumque.*

\* *Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 61.*

(a) *De Transl. S. Martin. Epist. 3.*

(b) *The city of Rhene in Brittany.*



The probability of it as I said will appear out of (c) *caesar*: for even in his time out of that part of *Gaul* they translated themselves into *Britain*; *omnesque iis civitatum nominibus appellabantur, quibus ori civitatibus eo pervenerunt.*

(c) *De Bello Gallico lib. 5.*

I might here say something concerning the corruption of *Condate* into *Congleton*. But what is obvious to every eye I trouble not my self withall, as knowing the truth of that saying of the old (d) Orator; *ἀδελφία τὰ φανερά λέγειν.*

(d) *Aristid. 2. Rhet.*

DEVA. LEG. XX. VICT. M. P. XX. ] From *Condate*, we pass on twenty Miles to *Deva*, now *Westchester*, where as by *Antoninus* appears here, the XX. Roman Legion had its abode. So *Ptolemy* saies also in the second of his *Geography*, if you mend him first, as you must: The *Cornavii* [ *Κορνάβιαι* ] whose Cities are, saith he, *Δήμα*, (*Δευμένα Deunana* it is printed; and there is in him another of a like name belonging to the *Texali* of our Britain, but far more Northern: ) *Λεγίων Κ. Νίκηφοι*, *Ουτέχονιον*. For whereas the ordinary Latine Copies have *Devena. Et Legio XX.* they are to be mended out of the Greek, and *Antoninus*, not to be expressed so as distinct places. *Dion Cassius* the Consular Roman Historian in his notable recension of the Legions from *Augustus* his time to his own, hath by no means omitted this Legion, we will bring his own (e) words, because in them there is some obscurity, which by this means I hope may be better cleared: *Οἱ εἰκοστὸι οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερείοι καὶ Νικήπες ὀνομασμένοι, καὶ ἐν Βρετανίᾳ τῇ ἀνω ὄντες, ἐς πᾶσι αὐτοῖς, ἐμὲ δοκῶν, μετὰ τῶν τὴν τε τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχοντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ [τῇ ἀνω] χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὸ μάλιστα μεθ' ὅσ' ἀπάντων Οὐαλερείοι ἐπικληθῆσαν, μετὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχροῖα ταύτῃ χρώνται, παρελαβὼν ἐπίησεν. Vigesima Valerianorum & Vindex, in Britannia superiori versantes: quos ipsos, ut mihi videtur, cum ea Legione, cui nomen est vigesima, ac Hiberna in superiori sunt Germania, ac non ab omnibus Valeriana dicitur, neque hodie id nomen retinet, ipse acceptos servavit.* This place, as I said is obscure, and by no means easily intelligible. And indeed the Translator himself *Gulielmus Xylander* thought it not to be *locum integrum*; nor it seems *Stephanus*, who came after him and reviewed what he had done. *Quo id verbum referendum est?* saith he: Whither to shall we refer that verb *ἐπίησεν*. Yet though the cure seem past our skill at present, thus much we may learn from the place. That the Twentieth Legion was in the Upper Britain in his time; That they were in the opinion of some called the *Valeriani*: but that in his judgement the Twentieth Legion was not ever generally called *Valeriana*, no not to his daies. The learned (f) *Savile* to whom also this place in *Dion* favoured of some corruption, tells us from it (for he can mean none else: ) that there were two Legions of that name continued from *Augustus* I. to his time, which whether it be the meaning of the words you see, I leave to others to judge, I am sure there are neither two *Vicesima*, or a *Valeriana*.

(e) *Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 55. pag. 564.*

(f) *Savil. lib. De Rebus Romanorum Militaribus.*



(g) Apud Lipsium ad Tacitum aliosque.

(h) Ioan. Rosinus Antiquit. Rom. l. 10. c. 4.

\* In EBORAC CO.

*riana Legio* among the old ones, that appear in a (g) Column yet remaining at *Rome*, or any newer recension of them. However the Roman Antiquaries, very knowing men, of late have imposed it upon our belief, that (h) *Vigesima Valeriana & Victrix in Britannia superiori versabatur*, and this is done hand over head, never minding withall the Historians words, who was bound in a double respect, both as a learned man, and then as a Consul, not to be ignorant of what he said. Of the division of *Britain* into *Upper* and *Lower* here mentioned, we have said \* enough before out of this same *Dio*, and *Herodian*. As for the Inscription found among us, although I think not made use of by these Antiquaries, I will make such answer as may be received for very good and sufficient. And thus it is, as it was taken up at *Crowdledale-waith* in *Westmorland*.

### VARONIUS

### —ECTUS LEG. XX. V. V.

(a) Casaub. ad Spartian. Didianum Iulianum.

By this we understand, that *Varronius* was *Præfectus* of the *Twentieth Legion*, which had the Titles of *Victrix* and *Valens*. For the second *V.* meaneth nothing else, as can be proved by *Valerius Probus*, or any other examples to be produced from any where else; so that we cannot think that *Valeriana* is intended thereby. Again the learned (a) *Casaubon's* judgement is of this place of *Dio*, that though he with others admit of two *Vicesimæ Legiones*, whereof the one had their Camp in the *Upper Germany*, but was named by few, and before *Germanus Xylander* leaves out *τῇ αὐτῇ*: yet doth he not press upon us that either were called *Valeriana*, there being none such, as we said, to be found any where. And therefore *Camden* said truly, where he tells us that they who call the *XX. Britannicam*, atque *Valerianam Victricem*, do *falso dicere*: but that to them he addes also *Valentem*, that indeed I marvel at, when as himself had the serious view of this stone.

That *Chester* flourished with the Honour of a *Colony*, if the authorities which I have already produced were not sufficient, I could prove it by a Coyn of *Septimius Geta* the Son of *Severus*, which is in our learned Antiquary, and on the adverse side whereof you have these Characters:

### COL. DIVANA LEG. XX. VICTRIX.

But I would that other Testimonies of the antiquity and glory of the place came from such abettors as could cause a belief in us, as well as we are prepared to hear any thing that might enlarge its lustre and fame. Such I mean as our Monks are. Among whom *William* of *Malmesbury* deserves the principal place:  
Hear



Hear the most honoured (b) Selden in his Annotations upon the *Polyolbion*: "You have largely in that our most learned Antiquary, the cause of this name *Caerlegion* from the Tents of Roman Legions, there, about *Vespasian's* time. I will onely note, that *Leland* hath long since found fault with (c) *William of Malmesbury*, for affirming it so called; *quod ibi Emeriti Legionum Julianarum resedere*: whereas it is plain that *Julius Caesar* never came neer this Territory. Perhaps by *Julius*, he meant *Agricola* (then Lieutenant here) so named, and then is the imputation laid on that best of the Monks, unjust: to help it with reading *Militarium* for *Julianarum*, as the printed book pretends, I find not sufficiently warrantable, in respect that my Manuscript is very antient, as neer *Malmesbury's* time as (it seems) may be, and heretofore belonging to the Priory of *St. Augustines* in *Canterbury*, evidently perswades the contrary.

(b) Selden ad Polyolb. Cant. XI.

(c) Malmf. de Gest. Pontii. l. 4.

Now if, as it fares among good fellows, our Monks might pass their words one for another, then would not *Malmesbury* want a surety and witness for what he saies of *Julius Caesars* having some knowledge of *Chester*: it is *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, who tells you of his coyn dig'd up there: *Via sunt hic subterranea lapideo opere mirabiliter testudineata, triclinia concamerata, insculpti lapides praegrandes antiquorum nomina praeserentes, hic & numismata Julii Caesaris aliorumque illustrium inscriptione insignita quandoque sunt effossa.*

In Polychronico.

But they are onely fit to study *Arcadique* Antiquities, who hold us in hand that this *Chester*, by the British called *Caerlegion*, or *Cair Lheon* ar *deur dwy*, [i. e. *The City of Legion upon the River Dee.*] was so named from a *Gyant* the builder thereof, I nor they knew not who he was, or when he lived, or indeed whether he came down out of the Moon, or no. Far more learnedly have the *Spaniards* done, who enquiring for the Antiquity of that Town which gave name to the Kingdome of *Leon* among them, and particularly from the *Seventh Roman Legion* quartering there under the Emperour *Nerva*. And indeed *Roger* a good Monk of *Chester*, being ashamed of such fabulous narrations as ascribe, and truly he might, the origen of his City to other than Roman beginning: hear him: *Intuenti fundamenta lapidum in viis enormium videtur potius à Romano, sive Giganteo labore, quam Britannico sudore fundata.*

In Polychronico.

But in very good earnest, the most famous Cities of *Europe*, as is before proved, taking their original from Roman Camps and Stations, it is most probable, not to say sure, that *Devā* or *Chester* here had such beginning: for that the Roman Souldiers were better builders than *Gyants* we may be all very confident. But at what time precisely it became so, that shall be our enquiry. We are then to seek at what time they first arrived in the



the Island. We find mention of them before in *Tacitus*, speaking of them in the *Lower Germany*; and their boisterous behaviour there: and this could not be long before their coming hither. So he in his first *Annal*, in *Viberius* time: *Primum ac Viceffimam Legiones Cæcina Legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de Imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur.* You have heard even now that *Selden* saies, they were here about *Vespasians* time. Our great Antiquary *Camden* writes, that they were conveyed hither in *Galba's* second Consulship with *Titus Vinicius*, which being troublesome both to the Consular and Prætorian Legates, at length received from *Vespasian*, *Julius Agricola* for their Governour, and sat down in this City, after, as he thought, they had lain heavy upon the necks of the *Ordovices*. But before this in *Nero's* time we find their good service in the memorable overthrow which the valiant *Suetonius Paulinus* his *Proprætor* gave to the numberlesse forces under Queen *Boadicia*. Read *Tacitus* after her death, almost in the very next words, and before he mentions the *Vexillarii Viceffimarii*. Afterward the same *Tacitus* tells us in another place, that *Roscius Cælius* was Legate of the XX. Legion; a bold man, that out baffled the then *Proprætor* here, *Trebellius Maximus*, and made him flee to *Vitellius* for refuge. In *Vespasians* time he was eased of his office by *Julius Agricola* that deserving Roman, sent at length to take upon him the charge of all, but first of his place; of this the same Author: *Is (that is Mucianus, who had the command at Rome for Vespasian,) missum ad dilectus agendos Agricola, integrèque ac strenuè versatum, Viceffimæ Legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressæ præposuit, ubi \* decessor seditione lagere narrabatur: quippe Legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec Legatus Prætorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul & ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.* And concerning the affairs of the Twentieth Legion, as also *Deva*, the principall place of their quarters while their abode was in the Island, thus much may serve to be spoken; being all that is to be found in *Roman* memories, whether Latine or Greek.

If you please we descend to the age of *Beda*, a faithful Treasurer of some *Roman* matters, neer decayed among us; you shall find this City, when he hath occasion to mention it in his *History*, conely called (a) *Civitas Legionum*, quæ à gente *Anglorum* *Legacester* sive *Britonibus* autem rectius *Cairlegion* appellatur. Whom the general current of our *Latin* Writers follows. But our *English* at this day name it *Westchester* (sure in respect of the VI. Legion at *Tork*, these two being *nonjuxta*, into which *Severus*, as (b) *Herodian* tells us, disposed the whole jurisdiction of the Island in his time;) and *Chester*; by reason of Excellency, as

*Tacit. Annal.*  
lib. 14.

*Tacit in vita*  
*Agricolæ.*  
\* *Roscius Cæ-*  
*lius.*

(a) *Beda lib. 2.*  
cap. 2.

(b) *Herodian.*  
lib. 3.

the



the Saxons judgement was; according to the common verse,

*Cestria de Castris nomen, quasi Castris, sumpsit.*

Thou *Chester* from a \* Camp received'st thy Name.

\* *Castris*

Now whereas *Florilegus*, or *Matthew of Westminster*, to the year DCCCCLXXV. saies, this City, or *Legacestria*, was sometime *Anglice WIRHAE dicta*; as I studied upon the cause thereof, I received satisfaction at length from the lately most learned, and still admired Doctor *Usher*, my kinde and ever honoured friend, that it proceeded from a place in the (c) old Saxon Annals joined to *Beda*, not rightly understood by *Florilegus*: and this it is. Hie gedýson on anpe werepe cearepe on wiphealum. f10 17 lega dearepe gchaven. But why as the same Author writes; it was also of old time named *Cynenge Cestria* that indeed I am yet to inquire after.

(c) Since printed by Mr. *Wheelocke*

Again I am not well satisfied in that peice of Antiquity, which we have produced by a learned man of the former age (d) *William Harrison*, who me seems too confidently delivers, that *Deva* was builded by the famous *Roman Proprætor* under *Claudius Cæsar*, (e) *P. Ostorius Scapula*: for to spare other reasons, his being here was before the XX. Legion landed in the Island: and they in all good reason seem to me the Founders, whose Seat it was and constant abode; except occasions now and then drew another way.

(d) *Harris. de Script. Brit. lib. 2. ex eo nostri Chrono.*  
(e) *De eo Tacit. Annal. lib. 12.*

Much more do I marvell at that slip of memory, and it is a notable one, of so great an antiquary among us, *John Balæus*, who (f) confounds the two *Caerleons*, that upon *Usk* in *Wales*, where the *Legio 11. Augusta* bore the sway, and this here upon the *Dee*: whence *Deva* doubtlesly had its denomination: Cities (g) and Rivers, as may be observed in most Countries, being found to be many times *cognomines*. For truly *Ptolemyes* books must be mended, in which you shall find *Σύστα* for the River here: which must indeed have been *Δύσα*, or some such thing.

(f) *Balæus Scrip. Brit. Cen. 1. c. 47. quem sequitur Rich. Staniburst.*  
(g) *Ia. Ruigerf. Var. lib. 3. c. 13.*

But (h) they are quite out too, and they are not a few, (for error gets followers apace:) that say *Deva* was *Doncaster*, more in the North; when as by that the old Station *Danum* in *Antoninus* is meant, far away distant, as may be seen in its place.

(h) *Mich. Villanovans Fulk, &c.*

The curious may know, that they owe their Original of their City from the great Gyant *Leon* of yore, to *Henry Bradshaw* some ages ago; except the Citizens had rather own it themselves, and so be thought to be of the *Gyants* race.

BONIUM. M. P. X ] It is in some Copies, but fallly,

U

read



read *Bovium*, and *Bonium*. Talbot acknowledgeth this reading of the name to be righter: though he could not divine where the place was; *Harrison* too mends it so. and *Camden* approves it in both. This without any controversie is that, which at this day we call *Banchor*, or *Bangor* in *Flintshire*. There remains sufficiently expresse marks of the old name still therein. And if

(i) *Panciról. in  
Notit. Occident.*

you heed (i) *Guido Pancirólus*, he will tell you, that the *Numerus Bonensum*, so called hence, did reside with their *Præfectus* in the Island at *Derwentio*; though I confesse the vulgar reading there is differing.

But the former conjecture is very probable: if you change the fourth vowell into the first; then which nothing is more easie, or usuall. Neither can any scruple be raised at the

\* *Cestrens. Poly-  
chron. l. 4. c. 31.*

distance from *Deva*; here just ten Miles. Hear then *Ranulphus* \* *Cestrensis*. *Tradunt nonnulli Pelagium fuisse Abbatem apud famosum illud monasterium de Bangor, quod per decem milliaria à Legecestria distat.* Now this Monastery *Ranulphus* speaks of is by

(k) *Beda Eccles.  
Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

our (k) *Beda* called *Bancornabyrig lingua Anglorum*, in quo, saith he, *tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant.* An example which

\* *1 Cor. 4. 12.  
2 Thess. 3. 8.*

these times abhor to imitate; though these good souls I believe followed therein no worse, then \* *Saint Pauls* own practise. But certainly these were such foolish *Monks*, as in the Island *Capraria* by *Italy*, the Heathen (m) *Poet* pleasantly lets fly at.

(m) *Rutil. Nu-  
matian. Itin. l. 1.*

*Squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.*

*Ipsi se Monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,*

*Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.*

*Munera fortuna metunt, dum damna verentur:*

*Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?*

*Quanam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri,*

*Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati?*

Men hating strangers fill the Ile,

From which themselves thy Monks do stile;

Least any might their customes know,

They fear what Fortune doth bestow

She should resume; With certain woes content,

Th' uncertain future to prevent.

Strange frensie sure his weaker Brain infects,

Who



who fearing storms, a Halcion calm rejects.

See the rest in him. For this is no place for them, as neither for those of *Ægypt*, men of most strict severity, and outgoing the *Essens* rigidness among the *Jews*. *Leland*, and *Camden*, agree in deducing the Monasteries name in *Beda* from *Bonium*, *Chorus*, and *Burgis*, as if it signified *Burgum Chori Bonii*, yet *Leland* hath a fetch beyond him, making the syllable *Ban* in that word to signifie a high noted place, easie to be seen. Now it lies all wast, and is at best but arable Land: but the fame of the place is not with all decayed. For *Ranulphus* of *Chester*, as you see, beside others, say *Pelagius*, that Arch Heritique, was Abbot here. Truly that he was a Britain, (n) *St. Augustine*, (o) *Prosper Aquitanus*, (p) *Paulus Orosius*, who lived in the same age with him, do affirm. This is that *Pelagius*, who under *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, about the year CCCC. (q) *contra auxilium gratia supernæ venenæ suæ perfidiæ longe lateque dispersit*; So far, and wide went his fame, that the Jewish (r) *Rabbins* themselves let him not scape their censure for one speaking of him, uses this expression: פולאניו הקין. They make him to have but one eye, and say at home he was called *Morgan*, which indeed in old British signifies *Merigenam*, or *pelago ortum*, that is *Pelagius*.

(n) *August. Ep.*  
106.

(o) *Prosp. in*  
*Chronico, & de*  
*Ingratis cap. 1.*

(p) *Oros. Apolo-*  
*get. De arbitrii*  
*libertate contra*  
*Pelag.*

(q) *Beda Eccles.*  
*Hist. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(r) *R. Abraham*  
*Zachutus in Se-*  
*pher Juchasin*  
*fol. 144.*

That *Gildas*, the most antient of our British Writers, was an inhabitant of this place, I could easily believe, saith *John Leland*. But it is certain out of (s) *Beda*, that *Dionothus* was the Abbat there, and sent for to meet *Augustine* that sanguinary Monk, and *Pseudo-Apostle*, at the Synod which he called here in the Island. See the whole story in *Beda*.

(s) *Beda Eccles.*  
*Hist. lib. 2. ca. 2.*

The antient magnificence of the place, the store of ruins in former ages enough witness. To which let us take *Malmesburies* words: *Tot enim supersuerant hic antiquitatis indicia, tot semirutæ parietes, tot anfractus portarum, tanta turba ruderum, quantum vix alibi cernas*. Yet hath it nothing left of its wonted lustre, but the bare names of two Gates, distant the one from the other some half a Mile; that more North, called *Port-Hogan*; that on the South *Port-Clais*. In the mid-place between, the River *Dee* runnes along; the old buildings being wholly ruined, and corn fields now onely seen in their rooms. \* *William Harrison*, and *Leland* relate, that the ploughmen usually find, as they are at Work, Monks bones, and vestures (much they should ly so long in the earth:) squared stones, and *Roman* Coyn.

\* *Harris. descr.*  
*Brit. lib. 1. cap.*  
*14. ex Leland.*

But by no meanes may we let passe that *maegwa* of *Malmesbury*, which through heedlesnesse hath happened in his † writings, making this Monastery the same with the Episcopall Seat which was sometime at *Bangor* in *Caernarvonshire*: and so followes a vulgar error: when as

† *Malmesb. in*  
*Hist. & lib. 4. de*  
*Pontific.*



this latter was like a Colony drawn out of the former. But see that *nobile par eruditorum*, Selden upon the *Polyolbion* Cant. XI. and Usher in his *Antiquities of the British Church*, cap. VIII. *Holyoke*, as elsewhere also, following the vulgar mistake, hath *Bomium*. But the prodigious carelessness in publishing such kinde of Authors is a business deserves the publick Magistrates inspection, and severity withal, (if it be only the Printers fault :) rather than mine.

(a) Ptol. Geogr.  
lib. 2.

(b) Tacit. An-  
nal. 12. & vi-  
ta Agricola.

(c) Powel in  
Giraldi Cam-  
brensis Itinerar.  
Cambriae lib. 2.  
cap. 4.

MEDIOLANUM. M. P. XX. ] This very Stati-  
on is also mentioned in *Ptolemies* (a) Geography, called by  
him *Μεδιολάνιον* *Mediolanium*; whence there is great light to  
*Antoninus* in the finding out, where this place was situate of  
old: for *Ptolemy* makes it belong to a people in Britain, whom  
he names *ὀρδοβίκες*, or *Ordovices*, *ad extremum Occidentis*: spoken  
of by (b) *Tacitus* too, in more than one place: And in the way  
or journey, which passeth through their Territories, we meet  
with it in *Antoninus*. The learned (c) *David Powel* of Wales,  
following some others judgement, as well as his own, will have  
it to have been *Matrafal* in *Montgomery shire*: *Matrafal*, saies  
he, *quod præcipuum erat totius Provinciae palatium*, *Hic Mediolanum*  
(*quod Ptolemæus & Ethicus, ad Occidentem per Ordovices po-  
suerunt* :) *olim fuisse nonnulli affirmant*. *Extant ibidem adhuc* (*præ-  
ter constantem incolarum asseverationem à parentibus ad posteros  
transmissam* :) *quamplurima veneranda antiquitatis monumenta,  
quæ urbis ejusdem vestigia manifeste indicant*. Here take weno-  
tice, that by *Powel*, for *Antoninus*, the name of *Ethicus* is set  
down, (a thing whereof we have spoken enough in the begin-  
ning of this work :) And whereas, by our Historians we learn  
that the Princes of *Powisland* had their Palace here, we the ra-  
ther incline to believe that this was sometime *Mediolanum*; be-  
cause in the perusal of *Beda* up and down, we see that *British*,  
as well as *Saxon* Princes, had their Palaces, where formerly  
Roman Stations had their situation and being.

(d) Urbs Mari-  
dunum. Ptol.

(e) Supra, sive  
ad Monam in-  
fulam.

(f) Fanum Ma-  
riæ Ad Humfr.  
Lhuyd. in Bre-  
viario de Rebus  
Britann.

(g) T. Livius  
lib. 5. Polybius,  
Strabo, &c.

But our great *Antiquary* goes a little farther, and out of the  
strait way, in respect of the number of miles in the journey,  
though not of the *Itineraria ratio*; often before observed in this  
work; to *Lan-vethlin*, a market Town not full three miles off,  
in the same shire; for *Methlin*, by a peculiar *Idiotism* of the  
British tongue: whereby also they say *Caer-Verden*, for (d)  
*Caer-Merden*; *Ar-von*, for (e) *Ar-mon*; *Lhan-Vary*, (f) for *Lhan-  
Mary*, and the like. And this cognation in the name, comming  
as neer to *Mediolanum*, as either *Millano* in *Italy*; *Le Million* in  
*Xantaign* in *France*; or *Methlen* in the *Low-Countries*; he thinks  
it sufficient to strengthen his conjecture; modestly leaving the  
censure touching the truth of the whole, to the judicious Rea-  
der.

*Mediolanum* in *Italy*, as the (g) Roman Historians affirm, was



<sup>a</sup> Plantation of the Gauls ; but how later ages came to give the original of the name from an Hog found there in the foundations, whose skin bare half wool, I am nothing at all solicitous. And I should not be troubled with Claudian's saying it, where he calls *Millain*.

(h) ——— *Menia Gallis*  
*Condita, lanigeri suis ostentantia pellem.*

(h) Claud. de  
Nupt. Honorii  
& Mariæ.

————— The Gauls  
A Swines skin found building thy Walls.

As neither other Poets, *Ausonius*, (k) *Sidonius*, *Gunterus Ligurinus*, &c. If I did not find it also so set down by St. *Ambrose* (l) himself, the eloquent Archbishop, so they call him, thereof. And I might well let pass (m) *Andreas Alciatus*, the learned Lawyer of that City, who with the first laboured, and with good praise too, the refinement of the study of the Civil Law, he brings quite another deduction of the name :

(k) *Prbs que lanigero de sue nomen habet. A. di eundem lib. 7. epist. 1.*  
(l) *Ambr. in Epistola quadam.*  
(m) *Alciat. Emblem. 2.*

*Quam Mediolanum sacram dixere puellæ*  
*Terram : nam vetus hoc Gallica lingua sonat.*

*Mediolan* the Virgins call'd thy sacred Pile,  
According to the antient Gallick stile.

For I list not at all to mention the suppositions and forged fopperies of (n) *Joannes Annus*, the *Viterbian* Monk ; who brings it from I know not what Leaders, *Medus* and *Olanus*, men I dare say boldly that never were yet in the nature of things : or (o) *Becanus* his foolish *Origenes* ; who makes *Mediolanum* to be as much as *regio virore camporum delectabilis* : as if at first it were *Meyland*, from the Month *May*. I learned a better lesson from a far later (p) Author, and of greater modesty ; whom in such matters I heedfully mean to follow : *Ego sane ignorare Origines ejusmodi vocabulorum multo malo, quam ridicule in eorum enodatione ineptire, ac turpiter errare.* This then have I to say for our *Mediolanum* in Britain, that the name and inhabitants of it were at first deduced out of Gaul, according to (q) *Cæsar's* authority ; which I have more than once alledged to this purpose in this book ; and to seek farther is for them, who have a minde intemperately to abuse their pretious time and pains. See **CONDATE** in what goes before.

(n) *Id. Annus in Caton. Fragment. 7.*

(o) *Io. Corop. Becanus Orig. Antwerp. lib. 4. seu in Cronius.*  
(p) *Phil. Cluv. Geographus.*

(q) *Cæsar. Comment. 5. de bello Gallico.*

The never sufficiently prailed *Usher* out of (r) *Ninnius Colletion* of the antient British Cities, restored by him out of the several Manuscripts, lets us know, that this *Mediolanum* in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus*, was sometimes called by the old Britains

(r) *Ninnius apud Vsserium de Primord. Eccles. Britann.*

*Gair*



*Cair Meguaid, aliter Metguod; or as commonly Meivod in Montgomeryshire.* As for other Antiquaries of the inferiour bench; who swallow all without chewing, it will be enough to name them; for they need not much confutation; such are *Cooper*, who to *Mediolanum* sets down *Manchester*; as also *Lhuyd*, and *Nevil* with *Fulk*; who both follow him, and with as little heed and judgement note to it *Lancaster*.

(f) *Quo usus*  
Hier. Surita,  
doctiss. Hispanus.

RUTUNIUM. M. P. XII.] There are the Ruines of a very antient Castle, lying on the Western side of *Shropshire*, and not far from the *Seaverne*, called at this day *Rowton*. In the *Romans* time, when it flourished, saith our Antiquary, it was named *Rutunium* by *Antoninus*, *nec in hoc falsi esse possumus*, saith he; (you see how confident he is :) seeing both the name and distance which he sets down from *Uriconium*, a generally known Station, doth most exactly agree. I have no more then to say of it, but that the divers reading of the old name [*Rutimio*] which is found in the (f) *Neopolitan Manuscript*, is as much as comes to nothing, and that the ordinary or common one is to be acknowledged and followed.

So that now whereas consuming *Time* hath wrought all its other usual despites upon it, according to that of the Poet:

*Ævum cuncta rapit, furtivaque tempora mutant;  
Naturam, sortem, nominaque & faciem.*

Age and incroaching time makes all things strange,  
And doth their natures, names, and faces change.

Yet doth its Name still survive, a happiness which but with a few other Stations, this can yet boast of: But let it have been as great as it will, there onely remains now the shadow of a Name. And there will be a time, when that too shall expire: however; if that be any comfort, it will be the last thing left.

URIOCONIUM M. P. XI.] Me thinks they do not amiss, who mend the name of this place in *Antoninus* in this Journey out of *Ptolemy*, and read it *Viroconium*. For so indeed he: *Οὐρεκόνιον*; *Viroconium*: making it the second of the two chief Cities of the *Κορνάβιον* or *Cornavii*: and so indeed it is printed in the XXII Journey of the same *Antoninus* in *Aldus* edition; though in that of *Simler* it be somewhat faulty *Viriconium*. And the written books which *Surita* made use of do maintain as much. This City, none of the meanest in old time, as appears by *Ptolemy*; neer four miles on this side *Shrewsbury*, stood by the hither side of *Seavern*; even where the river *Tearn* exposeth it self into it. In *Ninnius* you finde it is named *Caer Vrach*; which though it come neer enough, it differs yet from *Usher's Ninnius*, to the which you have that rich Magazine of human, as well as divine, lear-



learning noting this : *Caer Urnach quæ Camdeno, Uriconium Antonini, Viroconium Ptolemei, & Salopiensium Wroxeter fuisse creditur.* And in another place : *Cair Guricon, vel Guorichon quæ vel Warwicum est; vel Ptolemei Uriconium. Wroxeter in Salopiensi Comitatu.* But his other conjecture perhaps will hold best. In the *Anglo-Saxon* time it was *Wpekenearcpe*. from whence our *Wroxeter* at this day comes; neerer, me seems, in sound to the old Roman Name, as who would say, *Uriconii Castra, vel Urbs.*

It was an usuall peice of Policy among the *Romans*, and that frequently beyond Sea observed, as upon the *Rhene*, and other Rivers, as well as in Britain, to fortifie the banks of Rivers that were inmost to them, and to place gar-risons for better fence upon them, as here, where most danger of the irruption of the enemy was; the water not being more easily fordable then here even to the mouth of the *Seavern*, what ever of Magnificence it had, the hostile *Saxon* in the Island left untouched, that the furious and savage *Dane* quite harrassed, and laid waste: so that now it is but a small village, having nothing that remains of that state it enjoyed in former ages save some disorderly ruins of *Walls*, which the by-inhabitants call, *The old Work of Wrockcester.* And although I my self have formerly viewed the place, yet it is so long ago, before I intended any such work as I am now about, and observed nothing then besides the sight of a few *Urnes* lately taken out of the ground, which have not already been taken notice of, and set down by *Camden* our learned Antiquary, I will save my self the labour and give you all out of his words. That which he speaks concerning the Roman Emperors Coines found here by the Plough, is very true, for I my self have had divers presented to me while I was there, so long after. For the Ruins of the Walls yet remaining, he saies they were, *è lapide structili septemplici Britannicorum ordine exterius distincta, interius arcuato opere extructa fuerunt.* Where all this appears, he conceives was a Castle, or Fortrefs by the unevenness of the ground, and raising thereof; as also by the rubbish and decay of the Walls there to be seen. The place where sometime the City stood, and that too spacious enough, hath the ground blacker than elsewhere, where most excellent Barly comes up plentifully. And here I could not, but remember, what I have sometime read of *Pomponius Latus*, the great *Roman Antiquary*, who when he saw any part of the ruins of the CITY digged up, he would strait fall a Weeping, and being asked why; he used to answer, *Admonitu meliorum temporum ploro.* But to speak seriously, we have reason to rejoyce, that we by the Divine Providence are cast upon this present Age, had we but the wit to make right use of so many golden opportunities, and advantages. About this Stati-

Ralph. Volaterranus.

on



on did the famous *Roman Way*, commonly known by the name of *Watling-street*, pass either by foard or by bridge not far off: but the ridge appears not any where to be seen; the foundation yet, as they say, being detected by laying a *Weere* in the Water. However express reliques of the antient name, are yet left in the neer adjoining *Mount*, which some call *Gilberts*, commonly called *Wreken-Hill*, quasi *Uroconii Mons*; of extraordinary height, if you think of meaner hills; and a notable Landmark to the whole Country round about.

And now having said all I have to say concerning *Uroconium*, *Longnor*, being upon the *Seavern* a little higher between it and *Shrewsbury*, the dwelling and House of my neer and very good Kinsman *Francis Burton*, Esquire, I shall beg leave of the not fastidious Reader, to remember a piece of Antiquity, not, it is very true, of any remote time, and so less suitable to the rest here, but yet touching our own Family: and here I could not moderate my self from setting it down: and some perhaps will say I did well in it.

The *Burtons* were of *Shropshire*, a family sometime, for no ordinary relations, not to be mentioned in this place, very gracious with the several Princes of the Royal House of *Tork*; and we have yet some memories that Sir *Edward Burton* Knight served that side in fourteen set Battels. From him lineally descended *Edward Burton* Esquire, a Religious Assertor of the Gospel in *Q. Maries* time, and by the Author of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church of England* named among those that escaped the Persecution then for that cause. But the whole story is this: He was a man indeed, who by many waies and courses he took for his safety (too long to be told here:) and to evade the hands of such as lay in wait for him: When one day sitting alone in his upper parlour at *Longnor*, in meditation no doubt of Gods deliverance of his people; he heard a general Ring of all the Bells in *Shrewsbury*, whereunto in *St. Ceadda's* Parish his house belonged, when strait his right-divining soul told him, it was for *Q. Maries* death, yet longing to know the truth more certainly, and loath to trust his Servants therein for some reasons, he sent his Eldest Son, my Grandfather, being then but a boy of sixteen years of age, willing him to throw up his hat, if it were so, so impatient was his expectation: Who finding it, and doing accordingly as he was directed, the good man retiring presently from the window, and recovering his Chair, for extremity of joy which he conceived, for the deliverance of the Saints of God, he suddenly expired. And this was his *Nunc dimittis, Domine*. But neither was the storm of persecution so quite blown over hereby, but that still some scatterings did fall upon the Servants of God, for they suffered some grievances still, among which was their being debarred from Christian



stian interment in Churches. But *facilis jactura sepulcri*: His friends made a shift to bury him in his Gardens by the Fish-ponds, and set a Monument over him, which being defaced by time and rain, it happened in the year  $\infty$ . I. C. XIV. that *Edward Burton* Esquire his Grandson, inviting to Dinner the noble Sir *Andrew Corbet*, then Lieutenant of the Shire, with divers other Gentlemen of quality; that the good *Baronet*, desirous to see the place which preserved the reliques and memory of that excellent man: as good men are still inquisitive after them, whose vertues they honour: but finding it much decayed by the weather, after a friendly correction of his Host, and serious injoynment to repair the Tomb, whereby the memory of his most deserving Grandfather was kept alive; he without any ado, effected what he spake for, and promised himself to become the Poet for an Epitaph. And this is it which follows, turned also into Latine verse: but *ex Anglicanis bonis, Latina non stem bona.*

*Hæc mihi non vani ( nec erat cur fallere vellent : )  
Narravere Senes.*

Here lieth the body of *Edward Burton* Esquire who deceased *Anno Domini 1558.*

Was't for denying Christ, or some notorious fact,  
That this mans body Christian burial lackt?  
No: his faithful true profession,  
Was the chief cause, which then was held transgression:  
When Popery here did reign, the Sea of Rome  
Would not admit to any such a Tomb.  
Within their Idol-Temple Walls, but he,  
Truly professing Christianity:  
Was like Christ Jesus in a Garden laid,  
Where he shall rest in peace, till it be said,  
Come faithful Servant, Come, receive with me  
A just reward for thy Integrity. 1614.

*In Agro Salopiensi,  
Longnoræ, ad Sabrinam Fl. ad Piscinas in Horto juxta  
Ædes patruelis mei Francisci Burtoni,  
Proavi mei Epitaphium.*

*Quod scelus? an Christi nomen temerare quod ausus,  
Huic vetitum sacro condere membra solo?  
Dii melius: sincera fides nec tramite veri  
Devia, causa: illo tempore grande nefas.  
Urbibus insultat nostris dum turbida Roma;  
Rasæque gens sacris dat sua jura locis:*



Nec sacri ritus, nec honores funeris ; intra  
 Mœnia Christiculis, heu malesancta ! piis.  
 At referens Dominum inculpta munere vitæ,  
 Ad Domini exemplar funera nactus eret :  
 Ille ut odorifero tumulatus marmore inhorto :  
 Ossa etiam redolens hortus & hujus habet.  
 Hic ubi & expectat, felix ! solantia verba ;  
 Euge age ! mercedem jam ; Bone Serve, Cape.

And now have we done with *Wrokester*, and *Longnor*, the former whereof, I have finished as part of my task undertaken : what I have said concerning the other, the great respect I had of my worthy Progenitours memory would not let me omit. And I might also take my leave of *Shropshire*, but that *Usocona*, an old Station in *Antoninus*, and thought sometimes to have been neer the limits thereof, makes me some short stay.

USOCONA M. P. XI.] Not very far from the foot of the *Wrekin*, in somewhat a low bottom, stands a small village, called *Oken-Tate*, not famous at this Day for any thing, except it be for the much frequented *Coal-pits*. Of old time that it was *Usocona*, (written also according to the variety of copies *Ujoccona*, and *Uxacona* :) a Roman Station mentioned here in *Antoninus*, is the conjecture of our great Antiquary, for these reasons : First, that it is by the Military, or antient Roman Highway ; an infallible sign in his judgement, especially if there accompany it any proportionable distance ; which he next observes. The equidistance between *Wroxcester*, and this village on the one side, and *Pencriidge* on the other, agreeing with that in the *Itinerary* exactly confirms it ; so that he concludes it with that peremptoriness, that there is no cause, saith he, *cur quisquam dubitet*. He addes then, *nec abnuat ipsum nomen*, deducing it, as his manner is, from the old British ; the ignorance of which I have more then once in this Work openly professed. Nam hæc dictio Y S, saith he, *Britannis inferius notat* : and is, it seems, added to notify the Low situation. And though the Language of the antient Britains endured not an X. as is somewhere else taken notice of, yet the reading of the Name so [*Uxacona*] among the Romans, it being frequent in old books, is thereby nothing hindered at all.

PENNOCRUCIUM M. P. XII.] The divers readings in (a) *Surita*, are not worth the heeding. *Talbot* first of all assigned it to *Pencriidge* in *Staffordshire*, where is the notable *Horse-fair*. Both names, as well that which was in use in the Romans time, as that which is at this day, seem to be derived from the River there, named *Penck* ; by a stone bridge over which, the Military way ; which being there parted asunder, is in a manner thereby joined again. The distance of Miles

(a) *Surita* An-  
 not. in *Anton.*



in *Antoninus*, from *Uxacona* also, doth very handsomely suit.

ETOCETUM. M. P. XII. ] The divers readings of the Name are to be taken notice of ; for besides that set down, you have in some old Copies *Etoretum*, in others *Erocetum* : But we follow the most common. The learned Antiquary *Camden* confesseth he was out in his conjecture, in the ἀποκρίσεις of his great Work, entituled *BRITANNIA* ; conceiving it to have been *Uitoxeter* or *Uiceter* : which is also the mistake of *William Fulk* in his time. Yet I dare say boldly, they two conferred not notes : The errour I am perswaded was the sooner entertained, because of some light consonancy in the Names, as if the late one had signified as much as *Etocti Urbs*. But he upon farther Enquiry, and second thoughts, is confident he hath found it, there being the carcass of an old City, as he saies, lying by the antient Roman High-way, distant from *Lichfield*, which is South of it, scarce a whole mile. At this day it is called the *Wall* in *Staffordshire*, from the ruins of Walls, there yet to be seen, and which at this day enclose some two acres of ground, which they call *Castlecroft*, as it were *Castri Campum*. To this the inhabitants of the place, by constant tradition, say, an old City was joined, standing on the other side of the way, guessing by the rubbish in such store, the place where a Church sometime stood, and which is the best proof of Antiquity, they produce to shew the *Cæsars* coines found here. So that to borrow (a) *Tacitus* words : *Veteris famæ latæ vestigia manent, spatiumque cuius ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem*. Or if you had rather take that of (b) *Veleius Paterculus* the Court-Historian concerning the very old City *Cumæ* : *Vires veteris ejus Urbis hodieque magnitudo ostentat mœnium*. The distance from *Manduesedum* in the Itinerary suits well with the places now ; and what ought to move also ; the old Highway, with a fair, visible, and continued ridge comes from the *Pencks* bank, even hitherto.

Or former Edition.

(a) *Tacit. de Morib. German.*

(b) *Vel. Pater. Hist. lib. I.*

MANDUESSEDUM. M. P. XVI. ] *Manduesedum* was sometime a famous Roman *Mansion*, as appears by *Antoninus*. To find out the place where of old it stood, among our many Antiquaries, is not worth the while, for even *Talbot* confesseth, and so must they, that he can neither divine nor devise, whereabout it should be, and yet he tells us that *Manfield* in *Shirwood* comes the neereſt. The difficulty in discovering it proceeds, I conceive, from not following a certain course for the finding it out : next the uncertainty of distance : *Talbot* telling us that the book he used having XVI. M. P. that the notes in the end would have it mended VI. the contrary of which was in the *Longolian Manuscripts*, in which as *Surita* witnesses, was to be found M. P. VI. & XVI. *corrigitur*. Our very learned Antiquary *Camden* taking a sure course in these parts along *Watlingstreet*, hath light upon it most luckily, at a proportionable distance from



*Etocetum*, and thereby hath he found it, not far from the River *Anker*, where it is laid over with a stone-bridge : Neither is the English Name at this day so totally dissonant from the old one, but that it still retains some part of it : for it is called *Mancester*; in which what the addition of *chester* betokens, you have formerly had notice given you. In *Ninnius* his Catalogue of our old Cities, it is named *Muncegand* ; and the all-knowing *Usher* agrees to all that is said here, onely as he was more plentifully accomodated with Copies of *Ninnius*, he produceth more varieties of reading *Cair Maunguid* alias *Mauchguid* ; which whether at all material, our friends the old Britains have most reason to know best. Now whereas there is a Quarry of stones here by, whence they have supplied their need formerly cutting thence; and seeing we are informed by the *Glossaries* of the British Language, that as *Main* is a Stone ; so *Fosswad* in the Provincial speech, hath the signification of *digging* : from which two words joined together, as they may easily produce *Manduesedum* ; so do they to the life expresse the Nature of the place. The other course I was thinking on to find out the meaning of *Manduesedum*, was to learn if possible I might meet with any one who could tell me, what that *sedum* might signifie, as I had seen the terminations of other Stations made significative : for example, *dunum*, *durus*, *briga*, *magus*, and divers others. The studious youth may think of it, as besides this here, *Metiosedum* (c) in *Cæsar*, and elsewhere more. For my part I surcease all farther enquiry, except I were better furnished with helps and means wherewithall to effect it. And whosoever shall attempt it, let him alwaies have this in his minde, that the old *Gallique* tongue, and the *British* were the very same. How great soever it was in old time, I know not ; now it makes shew of nothing antient, *præter antiquam molem*, saith *Camden*, which they call *Aldbury*, and is as much as *Antiquus Burgus*. The Town consists not of above fourteen houses, *Atherstone*, a Market Town on one side, and *Nonmeatus* on the other side, having, in a manner, exhausted it.

(c) *Cæsar de Bello Get. comment. 7.*

V E N N O N I S. M. P. XII.] alias *Bennonis* ; for so it is otherwise called. Take therefore what is to be said concerning this Station from an eye-witness thereof after *Camden*, the diligent and judicious *William Burton* Esquire, in the LXXII. page of his *Description* of that Shire.

*Cleybroke*, in the Hundred of *Guthlakeston*, standing upon the edge of *Warwickshire* neer *Watlingstreet*. Neer unto this Town (many ages since) stood a great Roman City (out of the ruines whereof this might seem to spring) of the station called *Benno-nes*, but by the Saxons after called *Claycester*, through which went the great street way called *Watlingstreet* ; for on both sides of the Way, have been plowed and digged up many antient Roman



Roman Coyns, great square stones and bricks, and other rubbish of that antient *Roman* building : not far from a Beacon, standing upon the way now called *High Cross*, of a cross which there stood sometimes, upon the cross meeting of another \* *Great way*. Many of these coines here found have been delivered to me, of which I will onely set down two, the one the antientest, the other the latest ; though that the rest (being well viewed) might give light perhaps to some other passages ; for as that excellent Græcian ( *d* ) *Geometrician*, that finding the length of *Hercules* foot upon the sand of the Hill *Olympus*, drew all the lineaments of his whole body, by the proportion of that one onely part : So by the learned and judicious, out of the observances of these small Coyns, Inscriptions, and such other Reliques, may be found the Antiquity, continuance, greatness, and other circumstances of this antient City, now utterly perished and extinct.

The first and antientest of these Coyns here found is of the Emperor *Caius Caligula* in Copper, stamped as *Occo* setteth down, *An. Dom.* 42. upon the one side the Emperour with a Lawrel wreath, with this Inscription, viz.

C. CÆSAR. DIVI. AUG. PRON. AUG.  
P.M. T.R.P. III. PP.

Upon the reverse :

VESTA. S. C.

*Vesta* sitting in a chair, holding in her right hand a dish.

The other Coyn is of *Constantine* the Great, Emperour, in Copper, stamped *An. Dom.* 306. upon the one side, the face with a Lawrel wreath, circumscribed, viz.

CONSTANTINUS. P. F. AUG.

Upon the reverse :

SOLI INVICTO COMITI. T. F. P. R.

The figure of the Sunne.

The Roman Emperours (as *Marguard Frehere* in his *Diatriba* upon a piece of Coyn of *Constantine Palæologus*, the last Emperour of *Constantinople* well observes :) were very carefull in the graving and stamping of their Coines, holding it no small lustre and ornament to their Majesties, to have their devices neatly cut, and their faces made to the life, which was performed with that exquisite Art, that though many of them (of several sorts)

were

\* *Fossway* ; una quoque ex famosis Brit. Viis Adidis Camdenu in *Corintum*. pag. 386. *ibi videtur* (ad Bennones scilicet : ) fuisse diverticulum ut à Londino Eboracum profecturus, si per Lindum (Lincoln) ire voluisset illic ad dextram deflectere deberet Rutas (Leicester) sin per Devam (Chester) ire decrevisset, ad sinistram opereretur declinare Manduessedum. Rob. Talbot. Annot. in Antoninum. (d) *Agel. noct.* *Antic. l. i. c. 8.*



were mingled together; yet by a judicious beholders view of the favour and Physiognomy, without reading the inscription, they might very easily be distinguished: which curious observance of theirs continued from the time of *Julius Caesar*, untill about the reign of *Constantine the Great*; at which time it began to decline, and was not revived again, untill many hundred yeares after. Of these Coines many have written, as *Levinus Hulsius*, *Abraham Gorleus*, *Aeneas Vicus*; but chiefly *Adolfus Occo*, a Physitian of *Ausperge* in *Germany*, who hath set down the Inscriptions of them, and in words hath described the devises. Others have caused the Coyns to be cut, and printed, as neer to the medagle it self as they could; as namely *Erizzo* an *Italian*, *Jacobus a Bre*, from *Julius Caesar* to *Valentinian*, printed 1611. but more general and curious are *Hubert Goltzius*, whose large *The-saurus* of them, in several Tomes, shew his industry and genius therein. And *Octavius de Strada*, a *Rosberg* Courtier, and Antiquary in Ordinary to the last *Rodolf*, Emperour, who from *Julius Caesar* hath written briefly the Lives and genealogies and set down the Coyns and medaglies of all the Emperours, both of the East and west, unto *Matthias* the Emperour, curiously cut in Copper, and printed 1615.

Of the *Roman* Inscriptions have written *Marcus Vellser*, *Johannes Gruter*, *Martin Smetius*, *Justus Lipsius* in large Volumes, and *John Boissard* in six Volumes, with the Prints in Copper, printed 1600. And for our own Country, the right worthy, judicious and nobly descended *Sir Robert Cotton*, Knight and Baronet, hath collected together so many as hitherto have been found or discovered in this land.

BENNAVENNA. M. P. XII. ] It is read here also, according to the variety of Copies *Bennaventa*, or *Benneventa*: see *Surita*. You have it twice again repeated in this Itinerary, but with much interpolation of the name. For in the VI. Journey from *London* to *Lincoln*, you have *Isannovantia*; for it is that very same Station. And in the VIII. you have it called *Bannavantum* in that from *London* to *York*; thence also you must mend the number here saith, *Talbot*, and make it XIX. see the reasons thereof in him on those two places following.

That *Norhampton* stood where this sometime had its being, *John Leland*, a painful Interpreter of our British affairs, and *William Fulk* also thought: whose opinion *Camden* at first thought good of; but upon second cares and more diligent observation of the place, he sets it VI. miles thence, where now *Wedon on the street* is: so called because it stands upon that *Prætorian Way* which the *Romans* built, and along which *Antoninus* describes his Stations. Moreover this is confirmed by the exact account or tale of Miles to the Mansions on both sides, an undoubted argument: Not to make that one, saith our Anti-quary,



quary, that the Springs of *Avon* hard by here seen, and are, be concluded in the composition of the name *Bennavenna*. As for the first part of it, I know not what to say to it. Perhaps some bold *Britain* would have added *Pen*, for which yet you see *Ben*: because we say in *Latine*, as well as in *English*, *Caput fluminis*. You know formerly that I am not skilled in, and less taken in such deductions of names. Therefore though I could tell you that *Benna* in the Gallique Language, and consequently in the *British*, did signifie as much as (e) *Vehiculum*, yet doubting I should not please the best therein, any more then if I should say this *Beneventa* was a Colony deduced from *Beneventum* in Italy; I forbear both; the first, because I have no cause or reason for it: the second, because I have no authority, or sufficient warrant to make it good; neither is it likely I should. This though an antient City hath not much to set forth its memory, or which can assert it much from the injury of oblivion, but the very name onely thrice mentioned in this *Itinerary*. Yet if our conjecture hath any verisimilitude, those *Camps* and muni-ments were neer upon this ground, wherewith *P. Ostorius Scapula* the Proprætor here, under *Claudius*, *Antonam fluvium*, finxit quibusque *Petilius Cerealis defensus est cum à victore Britanno fusa Legione nona, & quod erat peditum interfecto, hinc cum equitibus evasisset.*

(e) *Sex. Pomp. Fesl. de signif. verborum.*

When the *Roman* power in the Island was come over and gone, *K. Wolpher* had his palace here; the miracles of whose daughter *Werbung* a virgin, are much celebrated by our Writers. Which I take notice of, not so much that I am taken with such relations, as to bring in an observation, that the *Roman* Stations here became afterward the dwelling of the *Saxon* Princes. And this is not the first place where that hath been done.

[LACTODORO M. P. XII.] Our Antiquary had rather read it *Lactorodum*, as it is in the written books. *Ortelius* hath it both waies by *U. Lactorudum*: the *Neapolitan Manuscript*, had it *Lactodrodo* M. P. XII. as the rest have it. In the VI. Journey it is constantly read *Lactodorum*: see there. To the name saith *Robert Talbot*, alludunt *Lutterworth & Loughborow*. But the distance from other Mansions here, will by no means suffer it. Though some Folk would have it to be the latter, yet, he mends it for *Bedford* as doth *Camden* also set it down so; in his *Geographical* of his excellent Work. But it could not be *Bedford*, for that stands not upon the military High-way, which is certissimus index ad stationes & mansiones ab *Antonino* memoratas rependiendas, nor hath it any token else of *Roman* Antiquity. Although sometime he thought it to be so by reading it *Lactodorum*, and deducing it from *Lettui*, that is in *British*, *diversoria*, *Innes*; and *dur aqua*; as if the name had been *Lettidur*, or *Deversoria ad aquam*. (f) *Lactorate* the old Town in *Gaul* differs

(f) *De Lactorate ad Ioseph. Scalig. in Antonianis l. 2. cap. 7. Epist. item. 406. lib. quart.*



as you see in the termination only : perhaps this may have had some relation, or dependance thereupon, like others in *Britain*. See *CONDATE* in this same Journey. But in his last edition thereof ; he takes it rather to be *Stony-Stratford*. The proportionable distance perswaded him to it. And its standing upon the famous *Strata*, thoroughfare, or street, as it doth : he concludes all, in giving the signification of both names together, which are suitable and alike : for he lets us know that in the old British tongue *Stones* are called *Leach* : now you were acquainted but now that it stands upon the *Watlingstreet* ; and *ryd*, signifies a ford : So you have, he being the interpreter, *Laetodorum*, i. e. *Stony-stratford*.

[MAGIOVINIO M. P. XVI.] Commonly XII. in the publick Books. You have this Station twice again in this Itinerary, the VI. and VIII. Journeys. There we will speak of the divers readings of the names, and look to the numbers of Miles. We find *Magioninium*, *Magiovinium*, *Magiovintum*, *Magintum*. But the first seems most likely to be the right. *Dunstable* is a Town well known upon the rode, standing upon the *Chiltern* in *Bedfordshire*, every bodie knows it. That this was so many ages ago named *Magiovintum*, our Antiquary is so confident, as nothing can be more. For besides its standing upon the *Military Roman-way*, the *Cæsars* Coyns are usually found by the Swineheards, saith he, in the fields about, which they to this day call *Madning Money*, reserving still some reliques, though corrupt, of the antient name. And hard by at the very descent of the *Chiltern Hills*, there is a *Military Fence* for the space of IX. acres made round, such as (g) *Cæsar* and (h) *Strabo*, describe the *Britains Towns* to be commonly called *Madning-bower*, and *Madinbour* by the By-dwellers : *in quo nomine*, they are the words of that learned man, *parum vitiato nomine* *Magintum se planissime ostendit*. However it was ruined by time, or otherwise King Henry I. repaired the Town, rooting out thence *Dun*, and his fellow robbers. He had his residence there sometime himself. By this you know the original of the name of *Dunstable*. But in his *revisiois*, or former edition, he puts down *Ashwel* in *Hertfordshire* for it.

(g) De bello  
Gal. lib. 5.

(h) Geogr. l. 4.

Ex historia pri-  
vata Dunstole,  
apud Camdenum  
in Castry ende-  
lanis.

[DUROCOBRIVÆ M. P. XII.] This station is repeated twice again in what follows, alike in all, save that in the VI. and IIX. Journeys it is corrupted into *Durocobrius*. Our former Antiquaries are foully out, setting down to this *Dunstable*, *Stony-Stratford*, &c. all which we have already past. But our Antiquary with better judgement places it at or about *Redburne*, which if interpreted is as much saies he, as *aqua rubra*, although the water that runs by it is no redder than that of the (i) *Red-Sea*. The place, they say, is famous for the Reliques of *Amphibalus*, as formerly for his Martyrdome. The story is in

(i) Vide Ag-  
tharc. de Mari  
Rubra.



in (k) Beda, thus: "Alban as yet a Pagan, when as the com-  
mands of cruel Princes raged against the Christians, gave en-  
tertainment to a certain Clerk running away from the pursu-  
ers. Whom when he saw day and night employed in conti-  
nual praying and watching; suddenly being visited by the di-  
vine Grace, he began to imitate him as an example of faith  
and piety; and by little and little being instructed by his  
wholsome exhortations, leaving the darkness of Idolatry, he  
became a Christian from his whole heart. Now when as the  
aforesaid Clark remained some daies with him, news came to  
the ears of the wicked Prince, that this Confessor of Christ,  
lay lurking with Alban, having not as yet any certain place  
appointed for his Martyrdome. Whence the Souldiers were  
commanded with more diligence to search him out. Who  
comming at Albans dwelling; he presently for his ghuest and  
Master, yielded himself to the Souldiers, arrayed in his ve-  
ry habit, and (l) drefs, and so was brought bound before the  
judge. So far Beda; Cui quidem cum Clerici istius nomen plane  
ignorabile videretur; aut certe quod ab eo omissum, prorsus intercidis-  
se; & quoniam, ut ait ille apud Poetam,

(k) Beda Eccl.  
Hist. Anglor.  
lib. I. cap. 7.

(l) caracalla.

(m) ἔ μὲν γὰρ πῶς πάντων ἀνόνυμ' ἔσ' ἀνθρώπων  
'Οὐ γὰρ ὁδὸς ἔσθ' ἢ μὲν ἔσθ' ἢ πῶς τὰ πρῶτα γέννηται.

(m) Homer. O.  
diff. 9.

Mortales inter nullus sine nomine vivit  
Ex quo natus erit primum, pravusque bonusque.

Aliud illi affine & veterum aliquis, qui Domino (n) Armachano nomen  
alius fuisse videtur, quam ipse Galfridus; in cujus Historia Britan-  
nica (sive Gildam ille parum à se intellectum corruperit, quod quidem  
verisimilius est; sive, quod lenissime dici potest, vitiosis exemplari-  
bus usus fuerit: ) Amphibali nomen primum occurrit, lib. 5. cap. 5.  
Locus autem Gildæ ita ab eo effectus est: [Sub sancto Abbate Am-  
phibalo] quam lectionem & Polydoro-Virgiliana Gildæ editio secuta  
est: ex quo etiam errore & alterum Amphibalum, Wintonia ad  
Amphibali martyris Abbatem extudit nobis Johannes Balæus. Atqui  
in vetustissimo Gildæ codice [sub sancti Abbatis Amphibalo] uti a Jos-  
selino est editum, adjecta glossula, id est, byrro vel dubio, scriptum  
se vidisse testatur idem Dominus Armachanus, ὁ πᾶν, in Primord. Ec-  
cles. Brit. pag. DXXXIX. Est autem Amphibalum [ἀμφίβαλον] (an-  
tique Græciæ ἀμφίβαλον, & ἀναβάλαον dictum) vestis externæ genus,  
quod & nomen indicat, qua clerici olim, & monachi utebantur. Sul-  
pitius Severus Dialogo II. qui est de virtutibus B. Martini. Sanctus  
paupere non vidente, intra Amphibalum sive tunicam latenter  
eduxit, pauperemque contactum discedere jubet. Videndus est  
Cl. Salmasius ad Vopiscum, præter Ioannem Mursum, aliosque in  
Glossariis. Ita homo ingeniosus; & fortasse minime malus, ex cucullo

(n) D. Arma-  
chan. de Primor.  
Eccles. Britan.  
pag. 151. 539.



& pannis monachum nobis effinxit; non secus ac simia, ut habetur in Græcorum fabulis, ex Piræo Athenarum portu, hominem sibi amicum & familiarem?

Conficito jam, atque indito à veteribus huic Clerico nomine, de patria ipsius quedam orta est controversia, dum alii transmarinum fuisse, & saviente Diocletiani persecutione, in Britanniam transisse, alii Isca sive Urbis Legionum, civem affirmant. Joannes Caius Urbis Scholarium Cantabrigia Rectorem fuisse scribit, autorem secutus Nicolaum Cantelupum in Historiola Cantabrigia. Non procul Verolamio ex parte una, & Annable opido (quod ab Amphibalo nomen accepit) ex altera, sita est Redburna, Antonino Dorocobrivæ nuncupata, ubi Amphibalum martyrio vitam finisse narrant; Gesta autem Amphibali ex monachorum scriptis,

( ——— Signis tamen hæc quoque, signis  
Captus amore leget : ——— )

Plena manu digessit toties jam nobis laudatus Dominus Armachanus, quem quidem οὐκ ἔστι πῶς, ὁ μόνος ἡγετὶς καὶ ὁ πᾶσι δίδων, κατὰ τὴν ἐνταύτῃ ἐκείνῃ, ut de Eustathio Thesalonicensi olim (o) Nicetas Choniates, boni quidem omnes, etiam mali invitæ, agnoscunt. But enough I think of this learned Clerk. We return to our old Station Durocobrivæ or Redbourne.

(o) Nicet. Chon.  
Hist. Imp. C. P.

(p) Vide Ste-  
phanum Ethni-  
cographum. adi-  
etiam Geo. Bu-  
chan. Hist. lib. 2.

(q) Cæs. Com.  
5. De bel. Gall.

At this day it is taken notice of for standing upon the Watling-street, and for the brook Weamer hard by it, which never bubbles up or rises, but against a dearth of Corn, or hard times, as the neighbours say, and believe. Hereby stood that antient station Durocobrivæ, though the distance seems to say no such thing; now Redburn, for they both signifie the same aquam Rubram, or Red-water. For ancient places are most an end best discovered, either by old Inscriptions, by the course of Journeys, by the likeness and significations of names, by Rivers and Lakes adjoined, when otherwise the numbers and distance in the Itinerary do not so well suit, as which may easily be corrupted, as here too often, and the short cuts in waies quite lost. And XVI. is not so hardly made of VII. Besides Rivers themselves dye and decay in time, as you have been formerly told. And therefore whether it should be briva or briga rather, which (p) Strabo saith among the Gauls signified a City, at least such a one, as had in it a water passed over with a bridge: the word in all modern languages almost for pons comming from βεῖρα. And therefore we will take Cluverius observation in his Geography: That Briga signifieth what pons doth, among the old Cæltæ. And that, omnia opida per Galliam pariter ac Hispaniam & alias regiones ita desinentia ad fluminum ripas posita sunt. Hence is it that in (q) Cæsars severall copies you read Samarobriga, and Samarobri-  
va; as it is also in Ptolemy Σαμαροβείρα. In Antoninus Briva Isaræ, which



which *Simler* otherwise calls *Briga Isara*, for *Pontoise* in *France*. So by this *Durocobriva* will be as much as *Pons seu Traiectus aqua Rubra*, i. e. The pass of the Red water, or Redbourn. However I cannot dissemble, but that the same great Antiquary, in his *ægeus*, that is, the first edition of his *BRITANNIA*, believed it to be *Hertford*. His words are: *Hertfordiam semper Durocobrivas esse credidit Duriob*, i. e. *Rubra aqua. Herudford*, i. e. *The Redford*; *distantia convenit*. But since he hath changed his opinion.

VERULAMIUM. M P. VII.] Had I had the Fortune, which I remember good *Robert* had by the courtesie of *St. Albans* ghost, to be carried up and down, and acquainted with what ever concerned the Town, (r) *de mæniis diruta civitatis, de amne diminuto, de strata communi adjacente civitati*. I might save my labour in turning over other mens books: but seeing that will not be, take in good part what I have collected, and got to know, by perusing the Writings of other men before me.

First, then take we notice of the name, which is thrice remembered in this Itinerary, but somewhat faulty the best: *Verulamio*, *Verulami*, and *Verolamo*; for *Verulamio*. *Ptolemy* also would be noted, in whom you find, but amiss *Ουεγλανιον*, making it one of the Cities of the *κατωευχλανδς Catyeuchlani*. It stood indeed neer where the famous old Town *St. Albans* now flourisheth, which grew by its ruins; in *Caisbow* Hundred, which place the *Cassii*, mentioned by (s) *Cæsar*, without doubt saith our Antiquary sometimes possessed. Of these then, saith he, the famous Commander *Cassibellamus* had his name. Among the Britain Cities, which we have set down by *Ninnius*, it is called *Caer-Municip*. Because it had been a *Municipium* in the Romans times, as you shall hear anon: though for it you find in (t) *Huntington*, *Caer-Mercipit*; but corruptly. And our Antiquary needed not to have made any doubt, that this was *Caer Municipium* which *Goltzius* found in old Inscriptions. By the Saxons it was called *Weplam cester* and *Watlingacester*, from the *Watlingstreet* Way, and at this day it is still called *Verulam*, though thereof nothing remains, but the ruins, to say that ever it was. Hence had the truly Noble *Sr. Francis Bacon* his Honors, Lord *Verulam* *Vicont S. Albans*. A man, as one saies of him, *Uno omni laude & invidia major; acerrimi judicii, subtilissimi ingenii, eruditionis vero minime vulgaris, inquam inter mortura post se reliquit ornamenta: qui seculi sui ingenia longe supergressus, cum omni antiquitate certamen habuit*. But what our *Comes Municipii* was, if our learned Heralds cannot tell, as I fear they will be to seek, I refer them to (u) *Galfridus* in his *British History*: *Comes ergo oppidi Municipii, qui ipsum præ cæteris diligebat, præceptis illius parere non distulit*. But his followers, because they understood not

(r) *Matth. Par.*  
*A. 1178. sub*  
*H. 2. pag. 133.*  
*&c.*

(s) *Cæsar. Com.*  
*5. de bello Gall.*

(t) *Hist. lib. 1.*

(u) *Galfr. Hist.*  
*Brit. lib. 2. ca. 3.*



Matt. Westm.  
Anno.

him, cared not that we should understand him, for what means one of them by (x) Comes quidem sub municipio oppidi &c.

(y) Caesar com.  
ment. 5. de bello  
Gallico.

The whole current of our Antiquaries, and those too such as would not take it well to have their judgement slighted, thought this *Verulamium*, to be that *Cassi bellani opidum*, which we find in (y) *Caesar*, speaking of his conquest of it, *sylvis paludibusque munitum*, quo satis magnus hominum pecorumque numerus convenere. Oppidum autem Britanni cum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt quo incursionis hostium vitanda causa convenire consueverit. Locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum. I confess I was not at first so much resolved as to think so, yet better inclined to it, since I understood that *Camden* himself thought it probable: Neither have I met with other Antiquities of it till *Nero's* time; seeing that the same learned Antiquary, thought that the *vallum*, which now is commonly called *Oster hills*, was of old in *Claudius* time the *Castra* or Camp of (z) *P. Ostorius Scapula*, his *Propraetor* here.

(z) Tacit. An-  
nal. 12.

(a) Tacit. lib. 14

(b) Tacit.

(c) Tacit. in  
Agricola.

(d) *Burtonius*,  
*Dio*.

(e) Sueton. in  
Nerone. cap. 26.

But in *Nero's* time it met with a sad fate: The story out of *Tacitus* is thus: Under *Nero* then, the Britains intolerably loaden with weight of the *Roman* government, and especially the *Iceni* (now *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* men) provoked by that cruel servitude into which not themselves, but the wife also, and daughters of their King *Prasutagus* were, even beyond right of victory, constrained: at length, breathing for liberty (and in a further continuance of War, having for their General (a) *Boadicia*, (b) *Boudicia*, (c) *Voadica*, or (d) *Bundnica*, ( *παντι ᾧδε ἔνομα πάλιν*, as the Poet saith, of another: ) their Queen, rebelled against their forrein Conqueror, and in *Martial* opposition committing a slaughter of no less then LXXX. M. (as *Dio* hath, although *Tacitus* miss CCI. of this number: ) ransackt and spoiled *Maldon* ( then *Camalodunum*: ) a Colony of which in the IV. Journey; and also this *Verulamium* which were the two chief Towns of the Isle; for so is *Suetonius* understood by learned men; if *London* be not meant by one of them; his words are: (e) *Accessit tantis ex Principe malis clades Britannica, qua duo principia oppida magna civium Romanorum sociorumque cade direpta*. And though nobody hath questioned this: yet there want not, who make it a doubt, whether this Free Borough *Verulam*, having tasted of the same miserable Fortune, which *London* it self did, which *Corn. Tacitus* witnesses, were first or in suffering rather last, in the order as *Tacitus* ranks it. For how say they, doth that reason hold good, *Suetonius Paulinus* rendred as the finall cause of his quitting *London*, by the loss of one Town to save the whole residue, if *Verulam* here were overwhelmed after? But being it is clear for the disorder of the fact, the strife, or doubt concerning the order of the time, may very well cease, and we may



may follow what we find. But we were best take a view of Tacitus words, as corrupt as they are. (f) *Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit: quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militari-um, quod uberrimum spoliant & deferentes intutum, laeti praeda & aliorum insignes petebant. Ad septuaginta milia civium & sociorum, iis quae memoravi locis, occidisse constitit. Neque enim capere aut vendare, aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes, patibula, ignes, cruces, tanquam reddituri supplicium, ac praecepta interim ultione festinabant.* Nothing did more unmask the covetous, corrupt, and inwardly most vitious intents of the followers of Boadicia; then the injury done hereunto. For in *Camalodunum* the main body and stock of the people were *Romans*, and *London* likewise was full of them, which ministred some colour for their mercileſſe carriage; but why they should deal in that manner with *Verulamium*, the Magistrates and communalty whereof were Britains, no tolerable cause can be well assigned. True it is they had the dignity and benefit to be free of *Rome*, but were not otherwise *Roman*. A principal difference between the persons of a *Colony* and those of a *Municipium*, this; that in a *Colony* they were evermore drawn out of the Corporation it self of the people of *Rome*, as members before, but in the other, they were not any part of that Imperial body till favourably received by municipal priviledge into the freedom; men generally forrein else, and but by admission capable. You may if you please see *Agellius* and other Roman Writers, but if you have not leisure, *Camden* alone will be enough. However in this very work have recourse to *Eboracum*, for that too by *Aurelius Victor* is said to have been a *Municipium*. The *Verulamians* therefore were Britains, though now they smarted as *Romans*; and found their riches to be their undoing. It might be supposed (if Histories were places for supposals:) that King *Cogidunus* (of whom there is already sufficient spoken) was Lord of the Soil about, which being upon the frontier of the revolted *Trinobantes*, the Town for that cause suffered mischief, in hatred and despite of his constant friendship to his great Benefactors the Romans. And here among many others the like, in the (g) *CORNELIAN Annals*, the infelicity of the Text, corrupted by transcription, breeds confusion. Nor doth the Surgery of *Criticks* so heal it, but that new Galls and Blisters may still arise. What *Tacitus* would principally say is not obscure: For he hath told us; That the Britains, omitting Castles and Garrisons, as tedious and troublesome to conquer, ranged loose about, and made booty or havock of that which was most of worth abroad; and although disordered shufflings of the vulgar Text, which is, that the followers of *Boadicia* carried their pillage and robberies to places of safety, (whether Woods or Boggs, or whatsoever else) and full of gladness for their chevifance, did then come again to fetch

(f) Tacit. Ann. XIV.

(g) Tacit. de vita Agricola.



(h) *Adi V. olim  
eruditiss. ac ace-  
rimi ingenii E.  
B. de Icconis  
rebus Gestis,  
quas vernacule  
edidit cap. 25.  
sect. 22.*

fetch more, which every man will repute reasonable to suppose) yet those (b) learned masters from other conjectures; are best to be seen in their own writings. The most judicious of them agree in this to be the sense, that *Boadicia's* men fought for that which was most gainfull to themselves, and withall unsafe for the owners to defend; a people forward to Boot-hale, and consume, but backward to the duties of War. A censure they well deserved, and extends to all others, who propounding to themselves no laborious nor honest means of life, long for civil confusions, that they might have what to lavish, though but for never so short a while, and with whatsoever lasting misery to the innocent and industrious.

But after this storm and stound, as great as it was, it flourished again, and attained to much fame and renown. Among other things, there is a Coyn, extant, stamped here, as they say, and is most probable, having on the one side T A S C I A; on the other V E R: let the learned judge when they see it:



The learned Divine of *Wales*, and Antiquary too, *David Powel*, a man well skilled in British memories of old time, perswaded Mr. *Camden*, one upon whom you could not easily put a false die, that in their antient Language this piece T A S C I A denoted and signified as much as *Tributi denarius*, as *Tastyd* was *præcipuus Tributi collector*. So that this Coyn meant as much as the Tribute money of *Verulamium*; Now whereas many will have these Coyns antienter than the Romans coming in hither, the learned Antiquary will not hear of it: Money indeed from all Antiquity was tributary here, and abroad, either by the poll, or quantity of Land: but before them to whom should the Britains pay tribute? And yet they had money: ask *Cæsar* else, speaking of their money.

The reading of late, whether from *Scaliger* or *Lipsius*, it matters not which, hath *taleis ferreis*, for *annulis ferreis*: However our *Speed* makes his boasts of having so many Iron Rings lying by him, remainders of *Cæsar's* times. But for this place, being as perplexed as any in *Cæsar*, I refer you to my *Britannia Romanorum*, where we illustrate what he hath concerning our affairs. There are many interpolations, it must be confessed, both



both before and since *Julius Cæsar* his recension of him, and his times; but we do not therefore disavow and reject with *Franciscus Floridus*, or (a) *Ludovicus Carrio*, and others, those immortal Commentaries, which deserve the reading and memory of all ages.

(a) *Adis. Ioan. Gerar. Vossium de Hist. L. lib. I. cap. 13.*

But return we to *Verulamium*, in which the first Letters *VER*, should seem somewhat to sound honourably in the British tongue, because (b) *VER-gobret* was the name of a chief Magistrate among the Galls (whose language was the same with the Britains:) and their most heroick Champion was called *Ferringecorix*: But this is more easie to imagine, then to prove: That it signified the same with *Mamr*, is probable, if the sense of *Ver*, or *Vamr* in some British dialect, be likewise equivalent in English as *Mamr* is. Great and apt additions in these particulars.

(b) *Cæs. Com. I. de bello Gall.*

*Humphrey Lhuyd* one of the learnedst late Antiquaries among us (I ever except the *Trium-viri*:) will have it, that the petty stream that runs thereby was denominative of the place, and *Verham* to have been *Ver-lhan*; the Fane or Temple upon the Water *Werr*, he supposing that to be the name thereof.

That the *Thames* once held its course by this Town, and that Ships of great burthen passed by, many have delivered. But the cause why some thought so, is for that, *Gildas*, speaking of *St. Albans* martyrdom, and his miraculous passing through the River at *Verlamcester* calls it *iter ignotum trans Thamefis fluvii alveum*: so by collection they guess that *Thames* had then his first course this Way, being thereto further moved by Anchors, and such like, here digged up. This Conjecture hath been followed by that Noble Muse thus, in the person of *Verlam*.

And where the Chrystall *Thamis* wont to slide  
In Sylver Channel down along the Lee,  
About whose flowry banks on either side,  
A thousand Nymphs, with mirthfull jollity,  
Were wont to play from all annoyance free  
There now no Rivers course is to be seen,  
But Moorish Fens and Marshes ever green.  
There also where the winged Ships were seen,  
In liquid waves, to cut their foamy way;  
A thousand Fishers numbred to have been  
In that wide Lake, looking for plenteous prey  
Of fish, with baits which they us'd to betray,  
Is now no Lake, nor any Fishers store,  
Nor ever ship shall saile there any more.

*Spencer.*

But for this matter of the *Thames*, those two great Antiquaries, *Leland* and *Camden*, have joined in judgement against it:  
and



and for the Anchors, they may be supposed of Fish boats in large Pools which have here been, and yet are, left Reliques of their name.

Of such a great pool there, hear what an antient Historian saith: the Ruines of *Verulam* are a Wall of Flints and Bricks, eaten down into the earth with age and weather, and deep double Trenches about, which remain at this day looking sadly with an overgrown face upon the Town of *St. Alban*, and yet retains the antient name:

*Alfricus Abbas Piscinam magnam & profundam Ecclesiæ S. Albani nimis nocivam & vicinam, quæ Fishpole dicebatur, magno pretio comparavit. Erat autem Regum piscaria, fuerantque regii ministri & piscatores molesti cœnobio, & oneri cœnobitis, E qua ille aquam aliquando derivavit, & aridam redegit.*

(c) Ruines of Time.

Personating the Genius of *Verlam*, that ever famous (c) *Spenser* sung:

I was that City which the Garland wore  
Of Britains pride, delivered unto me  
By Roman Victors, which is won of yore;  
Though naught at all but ruines now I be,  
And lie in mine own ashes, as you see:  
*Verlam* I was; what boots it that I was,  
Sith now I am but weedes and wastefull grass?

As under the *Romans*, so in the *Saxon* times afterward, it endured a second ruin, and out of its corruption, after the Abbey erected by *K. Offa*, was generated that of *Saint Alban*; whither, in later times, most of the stone-works and whatsoever fit for building was by the Abbots translated. So that,

(d) *Spens. Ibid.*

(d)—Now remains no Memory  
Nor any little monument to see,  
By which the Traveller that fares that Way,  
This once was she, may warned be to say.

And now if to this place of our English *Virgil*, concerning the decay of *Verulamium*, I bring as paralel the overthrow of *Carthage*, out of (e) one, who if any other, had his genius as well as house, I know no reason why any one should be offended: for my part I am delighted in it:

(e) *Iacob. San-  
nazarius de par-  
tu Virgin. lib. 2.*

— *Qua devictæ Carthaginis arces  
Procubere, jacentque infausto in littore turres  
Everse. Quantum illa metus, quantum illa laborum  
Urbs dedit insultans Latio, & Laurentibus arvis,  
Nunc passim vix reliquias, vix nomina servans.*



*Obruitur propriis non agnoscenda ruinis.  
Et quærimur, genus infelix! humana labore  
Membra ævo, cum regna palam moriantur, & urbes.*

So wealthy Carthage Walls did fall before,  
And ruined Bulwarks on that haplesse shore.  
What Wars, what troubles might she boast?  
She brought on Rome, and the Laurentian Coast.  
Now scarce her reliques, nor her name is known  
Nor the uncertain ruins of that Town.  
And we complain of our sad lives short date,  
When Realms and Kingdoms perish by like fate.

*Si quanta Romanorum numismatum copia, quot imagines ex auro,  
& argento conflate, quot vasa, quot columnæ marmoreæ, quot epistylia,  
quotque antiqui operis miracula hic eruta fuerint, ex vulgi relatione percensere velim, omnem fidem superaret oratio!* saith our Antiquary. But he thinks *Verulamium*, was equally famous for nothing, as for that in *Dioclesian* the Emperours time, under a grievous persecution of *Christians* it produced *Alban* the Protomartyr of the Britains, a stout Champion of the Gospel: to him therefore have recourse for his Story; but especially to the never to be enough praised *Dr. Usher*, lately Archbishop of *Armagh*, who therein hath detected many errors and mistakes, cleared all doubts, and set right the whole Narration of his life and death; and (a) as *Salomon* saies, what shall the man do that cometh after the King? even that which hath been already done.

(a) *Eccles. cap. 12.*

SULLONIA CÆ M. P. IX.] The Watlingstreet way goes on from *Verulamium* to London, &

(b) ——— *Longarum territor Regina viarum;*

(b) *Papin. Stat. Sylvarum. 2. 7.*

As he said of the *Appian*. But there is some deflection in the course now, which gave cause to *Harrison* to mistake *Barnet* for *Sulloniacæ*. But *Talbot*, I know not what reason he had for it, rather puts *Edgeworth* for it: And *Fulk Shelney*, between *St. Stephens* and *Ilstree*; if by this he means *Ellestree*, perhaps he is not much out of the Way; for much about this distance from *Londinium* is *Sulloniacæ* to be found: and our Antiquary hath light upon it at *Brockley hill*, where are the remains of an old Station and very much rubbish digged up. The Roman power at length expiring in the Island, and all being set on fire by the *Saxon* with War, an universal face of Barbarism over-run all, and among the rest all that lay between the *Chiltern* was all overgrown with trees and bushes, and almost to *London*, and not restored again, nor the way quitted, till by *Leofstan* the twelfth

Z

Abbot



(c) *Mat. Paris in  
vitis Abbatum  
S. Albani, in  
Leofflano 12.*

Abbot of *S. Albans* a little before the *Normans* entrance: (c) *Ille*, saith the Historian, *opaca nemora, quæ à limbo Ciltrie usque Londonium fere, a parte Septentrionali ubi præcipue Strata Legia, quæ Watlingstratu dicitur, fecit refecari, salebras explanari, pontes fabricari, & abrupta viarum in planitiem redigi tutiorem.* But this old way being again restored, was again deserted, another by the licence of the Bishops of *London*, between three and four hundred years ago, through *High-Gate* and *Barnet* being laid open, as is already observed, by our learned Countreyman and diligent Antiquary.

LONDINIO. M. P. IX. ] Many glorious, and very high, are the expressions which they of old time used concerning *Rome*. \* *Poleman* the Sophist called it τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομήν, a Summary, or extract of the whole world. In (d) *Martianus* of *Hieraclea*, you find it stiled, ἀστρον πρὸς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, the common Star of the whole Earth:

\* *Athen.*

(d) *Seniori illo,  
cujus Periplus  
Ἰαμβλικῶς  
edidit Fr. Mo-  
rell. Gr. & Lat.*

*Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma,  
Cui par est nihil & nihil secundum.*

*Rome* Empresse of the World alone,  
Thou art without comparison.

(a) *nova Roma.  
(b) Adis The-  
odor. Dousa no-  
tas in Georgii  
Logotheta  
Chronicon C P.  
pag. 59. 60.*

(c) *Menander  
apud Alciphro-  
nem in Epist. ad  
Glyceram, vide-  
re se ait  
ἐν ταῖς ἀ-  
θωαῖς τῶν  
ἑλλὰς ὅλῳ,  
τῶν ἰωνίαν,  
ταῖς κυκλάδας  
πίσις. Philo  
Iuda. ὅπερ ἐν  
ὁφθαλμῷ νόρῃ  
ἢ ἐν Ψυχῇ λο-  
γισμός, τὸ το  
ἐν ἑλλάδι Ἀ-  
θωαῖ. In dis-  
putat. ὅτι πᾶς  
σπεύδει ἑ-  
λευθερεῖ.*

(d) *Iustin. Hist.  
lib. 5.*

(e) *Apud  
Strabon. lib. 8.*

(f) *Verulamium  
Camalodunum,  
Viriconium, &c.*

(g) *Tacit. Agr.  
lib. 14.*

As old *Martial* saith; and little less we find said of the (a) new City, *Byzantium*, or (b) C P. And as for the gallant City *Athens*, to omit those common ones, in which it is called (c) Ἑλλάς Ἑλλάς, or, the Greece of Greece: and elsewhere, (d) the other eye of Greece; that methinks of (e) *Hegesias* in *Strabo*, speaking of it, is very brave; where he calls it θεῶν κτίσμα καὶ παλαιῶν ἡρώων. The Edifice of the Gods, and gallant men in former time. Now though this may very truly be said of *London*, yet let me adde, that the Piety, Justice, Wisdom, and other Virtues, have more preserved this City then ever the *Ancilia Martis* did *Rome*, or the *Palladium* did *Athens* it self; and rendred the *Genius* thereof so vital as we see. For in that very respect it is wondred at by learned men.

Truly such hath been the Fate of this our great and famous City, that it hath not onely survived the memory of many her Neighbors, mentioned by *Antonine*, *Ptolemy*, the (f) *Notitia* of the Western Empire, &c. whose burial places our Antiquaries of late have made such search and enquiry after; but for the space of above one thousand five hundred fourscore and six years (for so long it is since the Consulship of *Cassius Suetonius*, and *Petronius Turpilianus*, in whose time *London* was accounted (g) *maxime celebre* by an unquestionable Author: and my intent is not to insist upon any Antiquity much beyond this: ) hath flourished more for the stateliness and magnificence of her goodly buildings: for the



the large extent of her bounds and jurisdiction : for the religion and civility of her inhabitants; for the wisdom and honor of her Magistrates, whose \* ἀνδραγαθήματα have abundant witnesses, and appear in most Towns of the Kingdome : for the profession of Arms, all good letters and arts; not to speak of her Traffique and commerce with all Countries, and Ports of the known world, more then any other whatsoever throughout all Christendome. And notwithstanding it hath often met with those common calamities, Fire and the sword of Enemies, both domestique and forrein, yet what hath usually proved utterly destructive to others, to this hath been a cause of gaining more splendour and greatnesse, and she hereby, like the Kingly Oak, to speak in the Poets words, (or rather (c) Horaces, that I may not offend against the Imperial Rule of (d) Justinian.)

\* Good deeds, for which mankind hath been the better

(c) Lib. 4. od. 4.  
(d) Instit. lib. 1.  
Tit. 1. sect. 3.

*Per damna, per cedes ab ipso  
Duxit opes animamque ferro :*

Slaughter, losse, and civil strife  
Gave her wealth, and weapons, life.

Or in Seneca's : (e) *ita cecidit, ut altius surgeret, & in majus.* Her frequent Schathfires have rendred her not less magnificent, but more famous. And her enemies have had the same cause of grief, that Timagenes, an enemy to the Welfare of Rome, confesseth himself to have had, as often as it chanced to be set on fire; *Roma sibi incendia ab hoc unum dolori esse, quod sciret meliora resurrectura, quam arsisent* : He knew they would be built more stately after the burning. All which argues and confirms thus much, that London is a body well complexioned : or if you had rather have so much in Latine from the most polite, but unimitable (f) Lipsius speaking of it : *Londinium*, saith he, upon occasion of firing it under Nero, by the incomparable woman Boadicia, *urbs nobilissima, vitali genio condita, hodieque celebre.* The place which I mean is to be found in his Commentaries upon the Immortal Annals of Cornelius Tacitus, wherein is almost the antientest mention of *Londinium*, which we may by no means neglect to bring in here : *At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem colonia non insignis, sed copia negotiatorum & compectu maxime celebre. Ibi ambiguus an illum sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis. Satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercitam, unius oppidi clamore servare universa statuit. Neque fletu & lacrimis auxilium ejus orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum, & comitantes in partem agnitis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa etas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt.* Here the name of London, as said, is first to be found in any antient authentick writing

(e) Senec. epist. 91. ad Liberal.

(f) Com. in Tacit. Annal. 14.



(g) *Annal. 14.*(h) *Onuphr.  
Panninus in  
Imper. Rom.*(i) *Adi v. Cla-  
riss. Is. Casaub.  
in Augusto cap.  
98.*

ting, and that for the calamities sake, which at this time it suffered most extream. But that violence which could abate, and desolate happiness for the time, advanced the name thereof to immortal remembrance by (g) *Cornelius Tacitus*, her principal Historian, and witnesse. Tragicall effects the most naturall matter of renown. Prosperous successes vanish in the warmth of their own fruition. His memorie therefore deserves a special honour there. And if ever the most Civil, pompous, and thankfull uses of the magnificent Acts of Statuarie, Founding, Mowling, Musive, and Graving, prevail to come up here, as among the Greeks and Romans, both he and others shall undoubtedly enjoy it. In the words last cited the excellent Historian telleth how the Roman General, or Pro Pretor, out of an apprehension of the scarcity of his Souldiers, not daring to stand *Boadicia's* Forces, quite abandoned and deserted *London* to the cruelty and rape of the enemies, neither would be perswaded otherwise by any tears or intreaties of the Citizens. And out of his positive words, we may know that *London* was not a Colony, *Londinium cognomento quidem Coloniae non insigne*: wherefore (h) *Onuphrius* can be no way excused; who expressly against *Tacitus* words, saith, there was a Colony there. But there are two several translations, each of them in Print, who out of that very place of *Tacitus* would make *London* seem a Colony. If there be any hope, that he could have such a meaning; it must shine from out of other words in his *Agricola*, where summing the hurts, and mischiefs of *Boadicia's* darings, he speaks plurally, as if Colonies were destroyed, and not one Colony alone. That reading of the place being literally urged, *London* then may best put in for that title, with *Camalodunum*. But some of the most learned neither read the Latin Word as in the number of multitude, and there is also another commodious answer; figure of speech; which not rarely admits a plural for a singular, as a gracefull excessse. *London* was never said to be a Colony. The honour so much the more, that having no such support, it should grow so superlatively eminent. These are some few among the infinite innovations of Translators. Description of Places is an expresse office of History, as the clearing of doubts, a necessary right of description.

As for the word *commeatu*, besides which there is no difficulty in the Text, you may render it, if you please, for the great company of Merchants, and multitudinous passages, that is to say, for great resort and flocking too and again by Sea: but if this word of his will not properly bear this meaning, then are we to substitute in the room thereof this, or the like English, A Town abounding with all sorts of victuals, or provisions so that he may mean what (i) *Salust* doth, speaking of the City

Vacca



*Vacca* in *Africa*, because it was *forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum*: for it was ever famous *frequentia negotiatorum*. And voyages, fleets, embarquements, and passages usually made, as we see in this present journey, do necessarily imply an overflowing plenty in the station. Both interpretations are true concerning it. Now I am not ignorant, that the date of *London's* building was very much more of yore, according as it assigned in the (k) *British History*: and more antiently inhabited then *Rome* it self, according to some. It was built saith *Galfridus* under *Brute*: his own words are, *Condiditque, civitatem, eamque Trojam novam vocavit; & hoc nomine multis postmodum temporibus appellata: tandem per corruptionem vocabuli Ternovantum dicta fuit*. Which name may seem to be derived from the *Trinobantes* in *Cæsar* and *Ptolemy*, to which people it most certainly belonged: yet we find it constantly expressed by *Troinovant* or *New Troy*: not unlike to the conceit in the Historian, who deducing the name of the City *Tralleis*, conceives it to be, as much as (l) *πρὸς ἄλυσιν* so fond were our fore-fathers in foolish affecting relation to *Troy*, and scraping kindred thence. But that it was inhabited by *Julius Cæsars* daies, may well be true, as is thought, according to reason; and that it is known in him, by (m) *prope firmissima earum regionum civitas*, may well be believed; albeit we will understand, what *civitas* means in him: and though he in his *Commentaries*, with \* *Strabo*, and such as follow him in them, may seem to infer the contrary; As if none of the *Britains* had any other Towns, but woods or thickets, ditcht and bankt about. The clearing of which savage deformity, by competent proofs, and reasons, would be an office of honour well bestowed upon the most noble of Islands. And there is a very (n) learned man, who doubteth not to have undertaken the business; but that he had at that time formerly engaged himself in another subject. But it is most of use for the present and most certain for the story, that the estate and quality of *London*, immediately before the burning under *Nero*, was most flourishing; at leastwise comparatively with all other places of *Britain*, for the points of Trade, resort and plenty. And those few words of *Cor. Tacitus*, formerly cited, confess somewhat either of a wrong, or wonder; that *London* being worthy indeed to enjoy the title, and privileges of a Colony, it was left notwithstanding under the inferiour name of but onely a Town among the Romans. A City among the Britans and their principal. The very last joints in the composition of the name *Londinium* (if nothing else) would prove it well. For the word *Dinas* in antient British, signifies (as they say) a city. Among *Camdens* Roman Copper coyns touching our Country, there is one in honour of *Britannicus*, the son of *Claudius Cæsar*, which hath nothing legible upon it, but

(k) *Galfrid. Monmouth. Hist. Brit. lib. I. c. 10.*

(l) *Niceph. Greg. Hist. Rom. sive Byzant. lib. 5.*  
(m) *Cæs. de bel. Gal. Com. 5.*

\* *Strab. Geo. lib. 5.*

(n) *EB. de rebus Neronis Cæsar. pag. 133. de quo libro nos prius.*





.... ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ — ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΙΜΙΝΑΙΟΥ ΒΑ...

METROPOLIS ETIMINII BA. that BA. (in short writing) standing for BASILEOS, KING, of which manner of speaking, if any one doubt, he shall find store of the like and same Latin among the *Diplomata* of the Elder Saxon Kings amongst us. THE CHIEF CITY OF KING ETIMINIUS. The name of the City fretted out and quite worn away with age.

(o) Ibid. pag. 134. vide & Oct. Stradam.

But *Octavius* (o) *Strada*, a Gentleman of Knightly degree, under the Emperour *Rodolphus* the second, with the honourable Title of being his Antiquary, hath published one of those invaluable Medals much more entire. A most fortunate jewel to Britain, better worth being but Copper, then obtrize Gold, or Paragon stones, not simply a simple peice of money, but it self an entire Treasure. For without the least alteration of Characters, METROPOLIS ETIMINII BALO being the visible remain of the circumferential inscription upon the reverse, a most easie distinction (by supply of points decayed) reads, METROPOLIS ETIMINÆI BALO. That is to say, METROPOLIS ETIMINÆI BASILEOS LONDINIUM. For in the very letter L. and much more in the Syllable LO, all men (though but slightly conversant in antiquities) will readily confess, that after the name of the King, the name of the place in Britain did commence. THE MOTHER-CITY, or PRINCIPAL CHIEF TOWN OF KING ETIMINIUS, LONDON. Whether this \* *Etimineus* might not have been (p)

\* vide apud Polyd. Virgil. Hist Brit. lib. I. qui. sit Archeninus sive Erchenwinus cujus temporibus Londin. esse ait Regiam Civitatem, & regni caput.

(p) Sueton. in Caligula. cap.

(q) Dio Hist. Roman. lib.

*Adminius* the son of (q) *Cunobelinus* King of *Camalodunum* in the daies of *Caligula* the Emperour, who might after wards have ingratiated himself with *Britannicus*, the next Emperours son, and so have been declared King of *London*, as his father had been before of *Camalodunum*, is a question proposed by our learned Antiquary, to which we have nothing to answer, but that it may probably be so, till we find out better to conjecture. But others quite except against the Coyn it self, lightly esteeming the authority thereof, because it hath a word in it [*Metropoliz*] not known before the Christian times: but these good men sure will not be



be angry, if we chance not to believe them, or will they themselves if they please to peruse that in the Antigone of Sophocles :

Βαλχῆν Βαλχῆν

μητρόπολιν Θήβαν γαίῳν.

And divers other Greek Writers before Christs time. But hear how my Author gratulates to his own good luck this discovery, and wonderfully pleateth himself thereat. And, if nothing shall hereafter infirm it, Great BRITAIN must no longer incur the barbarous note, of being City-lesse in CÆSARS daies; and then also must LONDON undoubtedly owe, the best proof, and clearest light, as well for dignity as Antiquity, that hath hitherto been seen among us, unto me, who first of Mortals have duely asserted the honourable name thereof into the title of a civil *Metropolis*, till this present hour overwhelmed in the rubbidge of BRITAINS ruin. For though OCTAVIUS STRADA (to whose memory immortal thanks are due;) hath afforded the Medalia, he hath not medled with the life of the thing, the meaning: that is only mine. Special History depends upon the rare argument of the Coyn; for both the which, one act of exposition shall serve in their more proper place and time. And that LO. being the initial Letters of the name, should in STRADA'S coyn signifie LONDON, cannot seem strange either to the learned, or the ignorant; when in other Coyns concerning Britain, the meer (r) single L. it self imports as much. Nor will it be the fortune of any man to find a Town in Britain, whose name beginning (l) with those letters, can be fit to bear the stately title of a Metropolis, but this alone.

London to say the truth (say those famous Annals :) was not enobled with the surname of a Colony. The Romans therefore who had setled their households in London (for as wise Seneca observes, they made their Country every place where they overcame) were so many, that nothing wanted to erect it into a Colony, but an act of the Senate of Rome to authorise the title, and rights; their numbers appearing to be already sufficient for support of the charge, and dignitie. They therefore and their fellows, the natural Britains, together with the ordinary sequels of their persons and professions, who dwelt therein, amounted to an extraordinary multitude, which made the place not more populous then full of houses. For the proportion of habitations answers the proportion of inhabitants. How many the Londoners were of either kind, is a matter less known then how far every way the buildings went, which neither could be narrow, nor ignoble; but large as for copious Merchants, and magnificent as for magnifico's. For as the most learned Carolus Sigonius observes out

(r) *Vi in vet. nummis P.L.S. i.e. Pecunia Londinii signata*  
(l) *Neque enim aliud est Britannia oppidum vetus præterea, quod ab istis litteris incipit, sicut Loventium Prolemai, procul hinc in Cambria situm extipiat.*



out of *Cicero*, the Gentlemen and Knights of *Rome*, dealt in merchandize at home, and abroad, and were members of the Colledge of *Mercury*, whose stately Seat was upon Mount *Capitoline* it self, and whose limbs and parts were spread through the Roman world. One of the suburbs of *Nero's London* abutted upon the Fields (t) which are at this day termed of the neighbour *Spittle*, as *Nero's Coyns*, and the Coyns of other Emperors digged up there, among the Monuments of the dead, do abundantly witness.

(t) *Quibus more Romanorum in urnis, ollis, cacabis, veeais, ampullis, amphoris, cupis, orcis,*

*& aliis hujusmodi vasculis cineres conditi, nec non & nummi reperti sunt. Adis Ioannem Stow in Notitia Londini in Bishopsgate Ward nec non Virum diligentissimum Ioan. Weverum de Funebris Monumentis lib. 6. pag. 30: in iis quæ se didicisse ait a Clariss. & Doctiss. Equite D. Roberto Cottono Baronetto.*

Our learned Antiquary *Camden* adds to *Nero's*, some of *Claudians* and *Vespasians* Coyns also; and besides other Crockets and earthen Vessels, he mentions glass vials, in which remains still some liquid matter, which he thinks, might be either of the libations, of milk and wine, which in the burning of bodies, the antient *Romans* used at Funerals; or else of the odoriferous liquors, whereof *Statius* speaketh:

——— *Videque liquores*

*Arsuram lavere comam.*

The whole place of the Poet was read amiss, at least I may say, corruptly published by him; as it is also yet in the Author.

(a) *Statius Papin. Sylv. lib. 2. in Epicedio Glaucie.*

(a) *Quodque Arabes, Phariique, palam est, vidique liquores Arsuram lavere comam.*

*Salmasius* reads it right thus:

*Quodque Arabes, Phariique Palæstinique liquores.*

(b) *Clariss. Seldenus Prolegom. ad Syntagmata de DIS Syris cap. 1.*

But undoubtedly, he owes the emendation to (b) one the learnedst of this last age, who long before him, though he acknowledge it not, first descried the error, and very luckily corrected it, as he doth learnedly make it good by producing a parallel place out of the (d) same Writer.

(d) *Stat. Sylva. lib. V.*

——— *Palæstini simul, Ebræique liquores.*

(c) *HOMINEM MORTVVM IN VRBE NE SEPELITO, NEVE VRITO. Adi Cicer. lib. 2. de LL.*

That this burial place was then quite without the City, may be confirmed by the Law of the XII. (c) Tables, which ordered, that the dead, and the rites performed to them, should be removed thence. See *Servius* upon that verse of *Virgil*, *Æneid. Lib. V.*

*Sedibus*



*Sedibus hunc refer ante suis, & conde sepulchro.*

Bring to my house, and with my own inter.

The very bigness of *London* a cause why *Paulinus* forsook it the rather, as having not men enough to keep it. So antient a City of the Britains, the same in like sort so new a Seat of the Civil Romans, could neither want Temples, Bains, Aquæducts, Courts of Counsel, and Justice, nor other Publique works to render it compleat in it self, and as far off worth the beholding. The River full of Ships (for Merchants and Ships do alwaies suppose one the other) the rivage full of sea-faring men, the Innsfull of strangers. Here was the staple of Trade, and the capital Mart of Britain, the Bower of the Noble (for they had no where else to be so furnisht) the blis of the thrifty (for they had no where else to be so enriched) the delight of all. Here also, or no where rather, the publique store-houses, granaries, and Magazines, the safest stowage of gotten spoils, the Souldiers packs, and baggage the hostages of the British States, the publique Records (as at *Samarobriwa* under *Julius Cæsar* in *Gallobelgick*) and whatsoever stuff, or provisions *Suetonius Paullinus* in his aspiring spirit, might design for a triumphal, or an ovant shew at *Rome*; For by his good service in Britain he achieved as great glory & fame, as ever he had done in (u) *Africa*. His care to reach to *London* before the cruel Rebels, an argument of the premisses, and of this also, that it was the top it self of all the Roman interest in Britain. His purpose moreover to erect the same into the seat of War, makes it credible, that it was not without a Wall even then, but every way defensible; had it met with a season more favourable, or with a Captain as firm as the faith of the people. Within it the splendour of arms, and the furnitures of peace, which till the most fierce *Boadicia* struck up for battle, was every where most deep and still. And whereas the place of store had evermore a strong guard within it, as at (x) *Samarobriwa* before said, where a Legion lay in defence, so here (if my divinations fail me not) either the (y) valorous fourteenth kept, or some large portion thereof, as in the main stay, or seat of the Empires part in Britain, it self also the key or gate of the Province, which lay beyond the River from Surrey-side towards *Cornwall*. An argument hereof, that though *London* for the territory was *Trinobantish*, yet for the jurisdiction was *Cantian*, at leastwise, in (z) *Ptolemus* daies under *Adrian*. And the infrequency of Souldiers which is alledged in *Tacitus* for a cause why *Suetonius* did dislodge from thence, was the infrequency (if conjecture hits right) of that brave bold Legion, whose bands and troupes were not full as then, by reason of absences by

A a

leave,

(u) Prius enim Numidiam obtinuerat, de qua re tu Plinium lege Hist. lib. 5. cap. 1. præter Dionem lib. 60.

(x) Cæf. de bello Gallico lib. 5.

(y) Tacit lib. 1.

Hist. Præcipui

fama. Mantude-

cumani, rebelli-

one Britannie

compressa. Ad-

diderat glori-

am Nero eligen-

do ut potissimos.

Vnde longa illis

erga Neronem

fides, &c. alibi

etiam in illo o-

pere.

(z) Apud eum

enim Londinium

in Cantio situm

legimus.



leave, or far dispersion of the parts, which all came in before the battle, though wanting at the musters. Thus rich, thus populous, thus great, thus strong, thus goodly, and thus abounding with the necessities, and pleasures of life, *Suetonius Paullinus* possessed *London* at his return from *Mona*, for the service of *Cæsar*, and of *Cæsars Roman-Britain*. And the utter desertion of it by him, to the merciless cruelty of the incensed and victorious *Britains*, you have, in what followes in the same judicious and acute writer. For such, both here and elsewhere is all that proceedeth from him.

Now if you please in the mean while take a neerer notice of the names of this great City, by way of *Etymology*, and deduction thereof, being very likely from thence to confer somewhat to the illustration of so antient and famous a place. Here in *Antoninus* it is read *Londinium*: but *sæpius Londonium*, saith *Talbot* in the old Copies: and in the written Copies as *Simler* and *Su-*

\* Ita Ptolemæo  
dici perperam  
scripsit Paulus  
Hentzner. Itin.  
pag. 1688. Nori-  
berg. 1629.

† See Fynes  
Morysons Tra-  
vels part 1. lib.  
1. cap. 5. pag. 60  
(a) Erasmus  
in Adagio  
Πόλις τῆς  
Βρετανίας.

(b) Ex Hermo-  
lao Byzantino  
Περί τῆς  
ἡ πόλ.

\* Idem Ptolem.  
Geograph. lib. 8.  
τῆς ὁ Ἀλβίω-  
ν ὁ νῦν τὸ  
μὲν Λονδίνιον

τὸ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει ὡρῶν 10. καὶ δέσχηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς δύσιν ὡς δὲ δύσι, καὶ γὰρ.

† Justin. Cobler. versione Chronicorum Luberi Herman. Bonni lib. 2. pag. 48.

\* Gnid. Pancirol. Comm. in Notit. Occident. cap. 72.

*rita* both witnesse: it is likewise read \* *Longidinium*. In *Ptole-*  
*mies Geography* there is a people mentioned neer upon *Sweden*,  
called by him *Longididuni*: but between whom and *Longidinium*  
I know no more relation either of old time, or now; then  
I believe that our *Londinum* or *Londinium* was so called from  
*Linden* a † *Town of Holstein*, which yet we find said to be so  
in the great *Theatrum Urbium*: or else from the City *Lindos* in  
the Iland *Rhodes* which is the far fetcht conceit of the great (a)  
*Erasmus*, who I thought had reason to have known us far bet-  
ter. Nam *Lindus civitas in Rhodo est*, saith he, *teste Stephano*,  
*à qua deductum videri possit Londinum apud Britannos, quoniam ur-*  
*berum Stephanus Lindonium vocat, citatque Marcianum auctorem.*  
*Siquidem utraque insula est, Rhodus & Britannia, ac verus ejus gen-*  
*tis lingua, quæ nunc Wallica dicitur, satis indicat eam aut profectam*  
*à Græcis, aut certe mixtam fuisse. Ne mores quidem admodum dis-*  
*sident à Græcicis.* To make that good, which he quotes out  
of *Stephanus*, these words of his are sufficient: *Λινδόνιον, πόλις*  
*τῆς Βρετανίας. Μαρκιανὸς ἐν Περίπλῳ αὐτῆς. τὸ ἔθνικόν, Λινδόνιον.*  
As for *Marcianus* whom he cites; we must know that there are  
two Writers extant of that name, both of *Heraclea*: the elder  
who wrote a *Geography* called also *Περίπλος* in *Iambic Greek* verse,  
set forth by *Frederick Morellus* at *Paris*: the later who wrote this  
very *Περίπλος*, mentioned here by *Stephanus*, and hath compiled  
his whole Work out of *Ptolemy*; whence it is that I conjecture,  
& very rightly I believe, that finding \* *Λινδόνιον* constantly printed,  
the word in him is by *Marcianus*, or his Transcribers corrupted in-  
to *Λινδόνιον*; and so to be no more taken notice of then † *Leodunum*,  
and \* *Laodunum*, which likewise we meet with in later Authors,



for the right name *Londinium*, as it is written here, and also in *Tacitus*, as we see. Neither may we have any other thought, concerning *Ptolemies* own authority to the contrary. For whereas you may find it written (c) *Λινδόνιον* also, in his MS. Canon *Ἐποικίων πόλεων*, joined with his Astronomical Canons not yet Printed, what can you say else, but that it was the supine negligence and oscitancy of the *Librarius*; And truly in my weak judgement, as great a Clerk as *Eraſmus* was, he might, with a deal less ado, have brought the name of the City from (d) *Lindum* in this very Island. But neither place is to be thought on here.

(c) *Vii uos olim docuit Præstantiſſ. D. Arma-ebanus.*

(d) *Lincoln. Habetur & Oppidum cognomine in Scotia quoque Ptolem.*

Let us descend a little lower to the age of *Constantius*; and in a *Panegyrick* to him, we shall find *Oppidum Londiniense*, the *Latine Gentile* name, which must needs confirm what we say: but for the *Courteous Readers* sake we shall not think it much to transcribe hither the whole place of that eloquent writer: (d) *Enimvero, Cæſar inuiſte, tanto Deorum immortalium tibi eſt ad- dicta conſenſu victoria omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris hoſtium; ſed præcipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites veſtri, qui per errorem nebuſæ maris abjuncti ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quidquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine Barbarorum prælio ſuperſuerat, cum direpta civitate fugam capeſſere cogitarent, paſſim tota urbe confecerint; & non ſolum provincialibus veſtris in cæde hoſtium dederint ſalutem, ſed etiam in ſpectaculo voluptatem. O victoria multijuga, & innumerabilium triumphorum, qua Britannia reſtituta, qua gentes Francorum penitus exciſæ, qua multis præterea gentibus in conjuratione illius ſceleris deprehenſis, impoſita eſt neceſſitas obſequendi, denique ad perpetuam quietem maris purgata ſunt!* He means here the utter rout and overthrow given to the *Franks* by *Constantius* his men, after they had plundered the goodly City: but concerning this, I ſhall refer you to our *History of Britain*. But the laſt words of *Eumenius* put me in mind, of the *Naval* ſtrength and glory of *Britain* in thoſe daies, and withall of *Camdens Etymologie* of *Londinium*, which be pleaſed to take in his own words: where he tells us, that this City, unde celebratam, inde & appellationem conſecutam eſſe; a Navibus ſcilicet, quas Britanni ſua lingua *Lhong* vocant, ita ut *Londinium* ſonet Navale, vel urbs Navium. Urbem enim *Dinas*, unde Latini *Dinium* deſlexerunt, nuncupant Britanni. Hinc eſt quod alicubi (e) *Longidinium* dicitur, & in *Nænia antiquiſſimi Bardi Britannici Lhongporth*, i. e. *Navium Portus*: & hoc ipſo vocabulo *Bononia Gallia*, qua *Ptolemæo Geſſoriacum Navale*, in *Britannico Gloſſario Bolung-Long* vocatur. Urbes enim plurimæ à Navibus nomina tulerunt, uti *Naupaëtus*, *Naufſtathmos*, *Nauplia*, *Navalia Auguſti*, &c. In the very next age to *Constantius*, unleſs, you ſhall find *Londinium* again in the beſt Editions of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Lundinium* too by the fault of the *Librarii*; which

(d) *Mamertinus, ut quibusdam placet, ſive potius Eumenius, ut aliis, Panegyri ad Conſtantium Chlo- rum. Nam Max- imiano dictuſſo falſo creditur.*

(e) *In quibusdam Antonini exemplariis. Simler. & Sueria.*



*Amm. Mar.  
Hist. lib. 20.*

*(f) Idem l. 27.*

*(g) Londinium  
Rob. Steph. sed  
hoc sequioris se-  
culi.*

*(h) Ibidem lib.  
28.*

*(a) Dio lib. 54.*

*(b) Suet. in An-  
gusto cap. 7.*

gave occasion, I do not say sufficient, to Frederick Lindenbrogius to Print it so in all the three places of the Historian wherein it is mentioned, as is in the first place, where under Julian he tells us that \* Lupicinus the *Magister Armorum* was sent into Britain *ad rationes componendas*, thus: *adulta hyeme dux Lupicinus Bononiam venit: quaesitisque navigiis, & omni imposito milite, observato flutu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium: ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocyus ad procinctum.* The (f) next is where he speaks of the famous Theodosius his coming hither: *Egressus tendensque ad (g) Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisus plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vistorias manus:* And lastly speaking of the same (h) Theodosius, *Vero dux nominis inclyti, animo vigore collecto ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium.* And in Ninnius his Catalogue of British Cities it is accordingly written *Cuer-Lundein*. And hereby no means may I leave out that which the same Historian there relateth, concerning this gallant General, who presently after the landing here, and in his march up to London, dividing his strength into divers bodies, set upon the stragling and boot-haling Companies of such as had lately plundered London, encumbered with their booty: *& propere sustis, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi.* Denique restituta omni, prater partem exiguam impensam militibus fessis, mensam difficultatibus suis antehac civitatem, subito qua solus sperari potius recreata, in ovantis speciem latissimus introit. You hear that in Ammianus time it was thought *Vetus Oppidum*: but then it was of new called *Augusta*. A name full of the highest Dignity, full of Majesty. And the builders or restorers of Cities when as either they hoped or desired that their Cities might become flourishing and powerful, they heedfully looked to it, that they had lucky names imposed. Now amongst the lucky, and most fortunate there was none more lucky or auspicate, to borrow a word then that of *Augusta*. For that best and greatest Emperour Octavianus, did not without the Judgement of the learnedly assume this name to himself *Augustus*, saith (i) Dio [ὡς καὶ πλεονοντὶ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων ὄν,] who was so called as it were somewhat larger then humane nature. *Quae enim honore dignissima ac sanctissima Augusta dicuntur,* saith (b) Suetonius, and goes on thus: *Augusti cognomen assumpsit Atinati Planci sententia: cum quibusdam censentibus, Romanum appellari oportere, quasi & ipsam conditorem urbis, prevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine: quod loca quoque religiosa, & in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicuntur, ab auctu, vel ab avium gestu gustu-ve; sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens:*

*Augusto*



*Augusto Augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.*

Great Rome by sacred Augury was built.

Neither had any the privilege or power to impose that name without leave or license obtained from the *Augustus* then being: whereunto *Virgil* also alludes in that verse in the fifth of his *Aeneis*:

*Urbem appellabant, peravisso nomine, Acestam.*

By leave, the City they *Acesta* call.

*Id est, ipso permittente Aceste.* Otherwise the free (c) power to give way remained in the Senate. There are store of examples every where to be found hereof; the learned Saint (d) *Hierom*: *Samaria in honorem Augusti ab Herode Graco sermone Augusta est nominata.* And again elsewhere: (e) *Samariam Herodes rex Antipatri filius in honorem Augusti Caesaris Graco nomine vocavit Sebasten, id est Augustam.* But *Augustus* his indulgence thereunto is still to be preconceived. As for the thing done, *Hierom*, I presume, had his authority from (f) *Strabo*, a very good Author, or else *Josephus* as is most likely in more then one place. The same (g) *Strabo* relates how that *Pythodorus* a most wise woman, how that when her husband *Polemo* by the special grant of *Augustus* and *Antonius* had obtained the Kingdom of *Colchis*, she repaired and enlarged the City *Diospolis*, built by *Ptolemy* the great, and altered the name to *Augusta*, making it the Royal Seat. And the Romans themselves that they might gain the Gods to themselves and so deal more happily by their favour and assistance, call them too as they did their *Cæsars* also *Augustos* as they were *Præstitæ Imperii*: Hence it is that we frequently meet with such inscriptions as these.

*Cæsari Augustæ Matri Agrorum. Genio Augusto, & lari-  
bus. Jano Augusto Sacrum. Ißidi Augustæ sacrum. Libero  
Aug. S. Lunæ Aug. &c.* In nummis quoque, *Herculi Romano  
Augusto, &c.*

Now whereas it is reported by *Symeon* of *Durham*, and other Writers of our own Countrey, that *Constantine* the great, at the suit of his Mother *Helena*, did first of all fence this City with Walls, and that as *Camden* witnesses, many Coyns of hers are often found about the Walls; I am brought to believe, that it was called *Augusta* by *Constantinus* himself, in honour of his Mother *Helena*. For he exceedingly honoured her, in so much  
that

(c) De qua re  
studiosus lector  
Dionem adhibe  
lib. 53. & 54.  
maxime, atque  
illic pag. 528.

(d) D. Hieron.  
Epitaph Paulæ  
ad Eustochium

(e) Id. Prolog.  
in Abdiam Pro-  
phet.

(f) Strab.  
15. Σαυάγειαν  
ἢ Ἡρώδης,  
Σεβαστὴν ὡς  
πρωτεύουσαν.

(g) Strab. lib.  
11.



that he gave order that she should be styled *Augusta Regina*. And for this we have (h) *Eusebius* a sufficient Author. And *Ammianus* himself under *Julian*, and calls himself one *inter protectores Principis*, before cited where he tells of the alteration of the name of the City, doth not seem to me to speak otherwise then of a thing lately done. Although indeed (i) *William Harrison* saith it was called so from the famous Roman Legion here, named in inscriptions as well as old Writers, *Augusta secunda*. But he hath no reason nor authority for it. For that that Legion ever was resident at *London*, there is no testimony at all extant. That it lay indeed sometime at *Sandwich* in *Kent*, or *Rutupia*, the *Notitia Imperii Occidentis* sufficiently informs us. And that some part thereof at least had sometime their being neer about *Sterling* in *Scotland*, we are taught by inscriptions digged up there.

(h) ἔγω δὲ  
ἀξιόματι Βα-  
σιλικῷ τετμή-  
κεν, ὡς ἐν ἀπα-  
σιν ἐθνεσι παρ  
αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς  
σεβαστικοῖς  
τάγμασιν Αὐ-  
γύσαν Βασιλί-  
δα ἀναγορεῖ-  
ν εἶδαι. *Euseb.*  
*de vita Constan.*  
*M. lib. 3.*  
(i) *Harris. desc.*  
*Brit. lib. II. cap.*  
*7. & 17.*

But that the main body of the Legion kept its constant rendezvous at *Isca*, or *Caer-Leon* in *Monmouthshire*, is as certain, as it is most uncertain that ever it was at *Excester*; though *Ptolemy* seem to say so: but it is one of those many mistakes to be taken notice of in him.

In the forenamed *Notitia*, you shall light upon the *Prapostitus Thesaurorum AUGUSTENSIIUM* in *Britannia*, sub dispositione viri illustris Comitum sacrarum Largitionum Occidentis. Such kind of *Prapostita* with their Officers, are called by (k) *Valentinian* the Emperour *Thesaurer*, and are thought to have transported in Ships such species as were counted fit for the sacred or Imperial Largitions, or Beneficence. It is the learned *Camdens* conjecture, that this *Prapostitus* here, was over some *officina monetaria*, instituted by *Constantine* the Great: for we read, saith he, in his coyns, which he stampd in honour of his Father *Constantinus*, and others also, P. L O N. S. that is to say, Money stampd at *London*.

(k) *C. de Pal.*  
*Sacr. Larg. l. 2.*

*Peter de Natalibus*, out of the Martyrologies of the Antients, records one *Augulius Pontifex Augusta Civitatis Britannia*, in the year 304. which is before *Constantine* came to the Empire two years. I know not of what esteem the word of *Petrus De Natalibus* is among learned men: as also of *Gilbert Genebrards*, who alike also on the seventh of *February* celebrates the departure of *Augurinus* (so he calls him:) Bishop of *Ireland*, in the year CCCLXI. under *Valentinian* (he means *Julian*.) But let others

(l) *D. Vsserius*  
*de Primord. Ec-*  
*cles. Britan. pag.*  
*169 v. & illic.*  
*addend.*

(m) *Videsis A-*  
*thanasium in A-*  
*pologia 2. tom.*  
*1. pag. 720, 756,*  
*& 767. editio-*  
*nis Paris. 1627.*

(n) In editione  
*Biniiana.*

look to that: I shall refer my courteous Reader for better satisfaction to the all-knowing (l) *Usher*, of late that worthy Primate of *Ireland*, now with God. Certainly *Restitutus*, who ten years after him was present at the first Council at *Arles*, as also at that at *Sardica*, as may be collected out of (m) *Athanasius*, is not stiled *Augusta Episcopus*, but *Ex provincia Britannia, Civitate Londinensi, Restitutus Episcopus*; as appears by the (n) Subscriptions of that Council. But there is a later edition of that



that Council, together with all the Councils of *Gallia*, which we owe to the care and diligence of that excellently learned man *Jaques Sirmond*, a French Jesuit: thus then there they are (o) subscribed:

(o) Pag. 9. editionis Sirmond.

*Eborius Episcopus de Civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.*

*Restitutus Episcopus de Civitate Londinensi provincia supra-scripta.*

*Adelfius Episcopus de Civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde Sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus.*

So that out of Britain, besides this *Restitutus* of London, there were present at the first Council at *Arles*, *Eborius* Bishop of *Tork*, and *Adelfius* Bishop de *Civitate Colonia Londinensium*, as he is called here, with *Sacerdos*, a Priest; and *Arminius*, a Deacon.

But what means *Civitas Colonia Londinensium*, in this place saith the excellent (p) *Selden*? That signifies nothing at all in the *Topography* of *Britain*. I know not what credit may be given to the book of the Abby of *Corbey*; neither have I ever heard of what antiquity it is. Yet if so be the subscriptions out of it are to be admitted, I can scarce doubt at all, saith that great Schollar, however (q) others conjecture otherwaies (he understands the most excellent *Usher*: ) but that this *Adelfius* was Bishop of the Colony *Camalodonum*, or *Camalodunum*. For we are to take notice that this Colony was of old time famous amongst us, so long as the Roman power and sway prevailed here. For the name thereof, which, whereas perhaps it was written curtail'dly (as *Col.* or *Colon.* *Camalodun.* or as sometimes it is found, *Camalodon*: ) might be by the Transcribers, unto whom *London*, and the name thereof was very well known, and in the mean while, that of the *Colonia*, *Camalodunum* altogether unheard of both by the cognation of the sound, as also the unskillfulness of reading, be changed into *Colonia London*, or *Londin*. So the great *Selden*. And now to have done with *Restitutus*, *Athanasius*, where he speaketh concerning the Bishops which met at the Council of *Sardica*; where himself also was present; not only expressly saith, that were there \* *ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν Βρεταννῶν* (although in the title of the Epistle of the Synod it self to them of *Alexandria*, among the Provinces there reckoned up, the Britains are left out) but also among the Bishops that were present there, *Ῥεστίτου* is found without a place added to him, as many others are; who very likely was that same of *London*, mentioned in the Council at *Arles*: and therefore the learned man named by us ere-while, concludes it a thing very improbable, that Bishops should be present out of Britain, at a Council but a little while before; he

(p) Seld. Com. in Eutychii Orig. Alexandr. pag. 118.

(q) *Usser. Dia-triba de Episcopatu Anglice* pag. 12. 13. & de Primordiis. &c. pag. 195. & 317.

\* *Βρεταννῶν* *Britanniarum.* *Athan. Gr. Lat. tom. I. pag. 560. edit. Commelin. Provinciarum Britanniarum Episcopos hos vocat Hilarius in Epist. ad Episcopos.*



\* An. cccxliii.  
 \* An. cccxxxv.  
 \* An. cccxlvii.

(r) Sulpit. Sever. Eccles. Hist. lib. 2.

(a) Io. Pius. De Britannia scriptorib. etat. 5.  
 (b) Io. Balens Centur. I. c. 41. Vid. Christ. Broveri notas ad Penant. fortunat. lib. 3. Epigram. 11. pag. 82. & p[er] præstantis. pag. 97, 98. docti & laboriosi operis de Primord. Ecclesiarum Britannicarum.  
 (c) De fide, ut habetur in quibusd. Gennad. Codd.  
 (c) De vita Christi: ut habet Iac. Philip. Bergom. Supplement. Chron. l. 9. ad annum Christi 413.

he means that at \* Arles : and also at another not so long after he means that at \* Sardica : and yet none to be heard of at that at \* Nice, which was called between them both : when as notwithstanding all the Bishops through the Christian World were by Constantines Edict summoned hither : and that too, out of a Province whereon the Emperour had no trivial or ordinary Engagements. And I might here as well mention the Britains, which were at the Synod of Ariminum. (r) Sulpitius Severus, an Ecclesiastical Writer, is my Author for them under Constantius. *Acciti numerative quadringenti & aliquanto amplius Occidentales Episcopi, Ariminum convenere : quibus omnibus annonas & cellaria dare Imperator præceperat, sed id nostris, id est, Aquitanis, Gallis ac Britannis indecens visum : repudiatis fiscalibus, propriis sumptibus vivere maluerunt Tres tantum ex Britannia inopia proprii, publico usi sunt, cum oblatam à cæteris collationem respuissent : sanctius putantes fiscum gravare, quam singulos. Hoc ego Gavidium episcopum nostrum, quasi obtrectantem referre solitum audiui. Sed longe aliter senserim : laudique attribuo episcopis, tam pauperis fuisse, ut nihil proprium haberent, neque ab aliis potius, quam fisco sumerent, ubi neminem gravabant, ita in utriusque egregium exemplum.* For there being but three Bishops onely, reckoned at the Synod out of Britain, it is more then very likely, that one of them was of London : especially we having so good testimonies of Bishops there in those Primitive times, and particularly called to the Councells abroad. But surely I should be highly censured, by the admirers of certain who would be accounted principall Antiquaries among us, if I should leave out in this recension of London Bishops, Fastidius, who they say, sate there, making him, some an (a) Arch-bishop, others a (b) Metropolitan. When as, good men, they have not any antient authority for it, save onely that he was a Bishop in Britain, no seat assigned him. And there is but one Author for it, Gennadius : *Fastidius Britannorum Episcopus, scripsit ad Fatalem quendam de vita Christiana librum unum, & aliunde viduitate servanda, sana & Deo digna doctrina.* This Gennadius was in the antient times of the Church a Presbyter of Miffilia, or Marseils ; who wrote a Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, which were before him. Fastidius is said to have lived in the dayes of Honorius and Theodosius, Anno Dom. CCCCXX. Not only Honorius Augustodunensis in his Catalogue hath all in a manner out of him : but also, whatever our Antiquaries have concerning Fastidius, which is not in him, is not all worth a chip. Now concerning the (c) difference, which is observed to have been formerly in the inscriptions of his writings, and especially of his book *De vita Christiana* : let me inform the studious Reader, that it is of late years published at Rome, with the Annotations of a very learned man Lucas Holstenius, and with the very same Title, and dedicated by the Cardinall

Fran-



Francisco Barbarino to Charles last King of Britain.

And very such men as these, whereof I speak, will expect as consequent, after this my discourse of the most antient Bishops of London, something also to be said of their Church, which is also very antient. I shall have no need to mention old King *Etheldred*; Alas they can tell us that it was sometimes formerly a Temple of *Diana*. But what *mdavóntes*, and probabilities, the learned (d) *Camden* brings for it, I had rather the studious Reader would fetch out of his own book, then that I should transfer them hither. For neither do I here institute any dispute concerning the lawfulness of making use of heathen Temples to the service of the true God. For he being only sufficiently worshipped in spirit and truth, I cannot see, how any place can be so much polluted, by either Pagan or other idolatry; but that he both can and will hear the prayers of such as truly serve him. But seeing that men will have it so, and are wholly bent upon it, let them if they please then, make a right and holy use of places dedicated in Christianity, according as conveniency shall best direct them. Onely this much troubles me, that formerly I have seen, and do still see among Christians, so many Pagan superstitions rites and customs; among them I say who have given up their names to Christ. Concerning the occasion, which urged so much from me, I onely add this; that *Diana* indeed was worshipt here in the *Roman* time, and had Temples here too, this inscription will witness abundantly: (d)

(d) *Præter. Camdenum, ad Io. Stoum: in Notitia Londin.*

(d) *Exstat apud Camden. ad Vrk in Monmouthsh.*

T. FLAVIUS POSTUMIUS VARUS  
V. C. LEG. TEMPL. DIANÆ  
RESTITUIT.

But this Tradition (for I may call it no better:) that *St. Pauls Church* was formerly a Temple of *Diana*, was believed by many: I by no means mean Mr. *Selden* among such; (e) yet he is pleased to sport (for I have no reason to say he was in good earnest:) his wit, which he had extraordinary, and in most weighty matters surpassing other men, in deriving the name of *London*; and conjecture being free, as he saith, he could imagine, it might be called at first *Lhan Dien*, *id est*, the Temple of *Diana*: imitating the conceit of *Humphrey Lhuid*, which you heard even now, deriving *Verulamium* from *Verlhan*, that is the Church upon the River *Wer*: Now, saith he, that the antique course was to title their Cities oft times by the name of their power adored in them, is plain by *Beth-el* among the Hebrews, *Heliopolis* (which in holy Writ is called (f) *בֵּית הָאֵל*;) *Egypt*, and the same in *Greece*, *Phœnicia*, elsewhere; and by *Athens*, named from *Minerva*. But especially from this supposed Deity of *Diana* (to whom in substance *Homer* no less gives

(e) *Clariss. Seld. illust. in Polyol. Magni Poetæ Anglici Cant. 8.*

(f) *Ier. cap. 43. com. ult. Patron of Cities.*



(i) *V. Homer.* the Epithet of (i) *Ἐρυσίππολις* then to *Pallas*: ) have diverse had their titles: as *Artemisium* in *Italy*, and *Eubæa*, and that (h) *Bubastis* in *Ægypt*, so called from the same word, signifying in *Ægyptian* both a *Cat* and *Diana*.

(h) *Stephan.* *μετὰ πάλιν* in *Bubastis*. *Herodot. lib. 2.* The same may be said concerning the Temple of *Apollo*, on the Ruines of which, the report is, *St. Peters* in *Westminster* was founded not very far off, (for though the houses be quite contiguous now, yet heretofore in our Fore-fathers daies, as I find it \* written, it was accounted from *London* thither, two miles) but I find no sufficient authority in any remote Antiquity for the Temple of *Apollo*.

\* *Guil. Stephanides* descripi. *Londoniæ.*

(g) *Vserius de Primord. &c.* pag. 129.

(h) *Galf. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. 1.* cap. 14.

(i) *Cæsar. Com. 6. de Bello Gallico.*

(k) *Cæsar. ubi supra.*

(l) *In Dinis Inscript. in Cumbria, apud Camden. in altera etiam apud Selden. Syntag. 2. de DIS Syris cap. 1.*

(m) *Scalig. lect. Auson. lib. 1. cap. 9.* *Αβελιανός*, *Sot. Cretensibus. Hesych. Doctiss. Scaliger. ad Varronis 1. De R. R. more Romanorum antiquo Apello, pro Apollo positum docet unde tamen Abellionem factum non dicimus. Punicæ enim esse originis ut suspicemur, facit D. Augustini auctoritas, qui in libello De Hæresibus scribit Abellionios (erant illi Hipponensis agri olim hæretici: ) Punicâ declinatione nominis ita vocatos. Constat certè ex reliquis Augustini scriptis, aliquam eum habuisse notitiam hujus linguæ. (n) *Adis Petr. Pitheum in Adversariis lib. 1. cap. 3. præter Cælium Rodigin. Antiq. lect. lib. 17. cap. 28.* (o) *In Profess. Burdigal.**

*Phabitius*



called *Phœbitus*, and said to be *stirpe satus Druidum*: it self is named *Belenus*. Hence is it also that the *Herba Apollinarea*, wherwith the antient *Gauls* are said to have tainted their arrows, was also named (p) *Belenium*. In *Tertullians Apologetic. cap. XXIII.* *Belenus* is *Nericorum Deus*, as *Pierre Pithou* reads it. But where ever you find him, he is still rendred by *Apollo*. He was the *Aquileians ἐπιχώριος θεός*, or Countrey-God, saith *Herodian* in γ. βέλινος δὲ καλεῖται θεόν, σέβουσιν τε ὑπερφύως, Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι ἐδέλοντες. i. e. They call him *Belis*, and worship him in extraordinary manner, thinking him to be *Apollo*. But by all means you must mend the Author, and make it *Βελινός*. *Julius Capitolinus* in the lives of the *Maximini*, tells us, that *Menophilus* and *Crispinus*, two men of Consular dignity willing to have it so, because they knew that the God *Belenus* had given assurance by the Southsayers, that *Maximinus* should be overcome. Whence also afterwards the Souldiers, *Maximinus* being slain, are said to have given it out, that *Apollo* fought against him; and that that victory was not *Maximus's*, or the *Senates*, but of the Gods themselves. There are many *Vota* of the antients made to *Apollo Belenus Augustus*, inscribed upon four-square Altars, which are to be seen in the *Hercules Prodicus* of *Stephanus Pighius*, and also *Gruter*. The visible foot-steps of this name are to be found in *Cassibelin*, and *Cunobelin*, two Britain Kings mentioned in *Cæsar* and *Dio*. And the very name whole in the British History in King (a) *Belinus*, the Brother, as it is said of *Brennus*; and from whom our Antiquaries will have *Belins-gate* in this great City so called. Perhaps also thence was *Beleus*, an antient King of the *Cimbri*, or *Gau's*, (b) conquered by *C. Marius*; for (c) *Lhuïd* saies, that the name is familiar among his Countrey-men to this day. Now whether *Belinus* be to be derived, from the British word *Belin*, which sounds as much, as *flavus*, or *yellow*, accordingly as *Apollo* is both by *Latin* and *Greek* Poets so called, and *ξανθός* frequently; or else from some Asiatick original, I will not stand now to determine. Truly in *Hesychius* we read βέλινος, ἥλιος καὶ αὐγὴ. and which I may by no means omit, in *Cynobelinus* his Coyn *Belinus* is (d) imprefsed, playing on his harp, that you may know that *Apollo* is meant: And now when I have taken notice, that the learned *Peter Pithou* would deduce the name from ἐκινέω, a frequent Epithet of this Deity in *Homer*: (but I know not with how great judgement:) as also acquainted the Reader with the much (e) celebrated Inscription of *Apollo* (f) *Grannus* found in the North of Britain, I will have done this discourse.

(p) *Adi appen.*  
*Dioscorides*  
*Canteriani cap.*  
*χνα.*

(a) *Galf. Mon-*  
*mouth. Histor.*  
*Brit. l. I. c. 18.*

(b) *L. Flor Hist*  
*Rom. l. 3. c. 3.*

(c) *Fragm. De-*  
*script. Briann.*

(d) *Apud*  
*Camden. in No-*  
*tis ad Numism.*  
*Briann.*

(e) *Reperta*  
*est Musselbur-*  
*gi in Scotia &*  
*descripta manu*  
*V. Clariss. &*

*Doddis. Petri Iunii. Adi Ioseph. Scalig. Epist. 66. Io. Napeir Baron. Merchinston. ad caput XVII. Apocalips.*  
*Claud. Salmas. ad Spartiani Hadrianum. Gruteri Inscript pag. 126.*

(f) 1. ἀνεσπόμενος. ἐπιδετορ scilicet *Apollinis* Vide *Camden. p. 689. & Salmas. in Solin. pag. 763.*



Besides what hath been said hitherto concerning this famous City, matters gallant and magnificent enough, there remain many other great and glorious things concerning it, which deservedly challenge, as their due, room also in this place; but that I have formerly, wherewith too I have acquainted the Reader in more then one place, confined my self to the limet and bound of a certain set time, while the Romans exercised their power and bore sway here in the Island. I have all along for that space been very scrupulous and circumspect what authorities I made use of: Hence it is, that where I found not sufficient proof for what I met with, were it never so specious for the honour and interest of *Britain*, I rejected it as invalid. As where *Constantine* the Greats birth-place is assigned to be *London*: and that by no mean Authors, among whom is *William Stephanides* or *Fit-stephen*, an Author who above 400. years ago wrote the Description of the City of *London* in Latin, a very learned man for that age, whose Book, though it be of late left out of the Catalogue of his works by *Joannes Pitseus*, yet is he mentioned with good credit by as antient a Writer and better thought of than he, *Ranulph of Higden* in his *Polychronicon* Lib. 11. cap. 25. Neither for some stately structures in *London* and else-where could I bring my belief to fancy him for the founder, who is commonly delivered and believed so: I here intend especially \* *Julius Caesar*, said to be the builder of the Tower, and other stately Edifices abroad; of which the same last cited Author in the same work thus: *Habet* (he speaks of this flourishing City:) *ab Oriente arcem Palatinam, maximam & fortissimam, cujus & area, & muri à fundamento profundissimo exurgunt: cimento cum sanguine animalium temperato.* I could seriously wish that that piece were better mended in the hands of men, or at least better understood, then I presume it is by the Translation thereof, published in the last large edition of *Stowes* Survey of *London*.

\* *Hen. Ernsius.*  
*Observat. lib. 2.*  
*cap. 16.*

I have somewhere given free way to conjecture, giving it, where authority of Writers was wanting, equal strength, especially if the τὸ ἐνδοξον thereof required it so: As I think we may in that ingenious one of our learned Antiquary *Camden*, who conceives, that the great stone pitcht in *Canning-street*, did answer to the *Miliarium Aureum* in *Rome*, and this the rather perswaded him to believe it, because the antient thorow-fare of the City passed here, as may be collected from the *Walling-street*, to the end of which this is neer joined. And then will the distance between *Verulamium*, and *London*, set down X. X I. miles in *Antoninus*, very well suite; if we withall reckon to this great stone, and consider too that *S. Albans* is so much on this side *Verulamium*; accounting it but twenty miles thither at this day, and those but very short ones. I (g) have spoken formerly

(g) *Prius, ubi de*  
*Miliari, sive*  
*millibus passibus.*



merly enough I suppose concerning the *Miliarium Aureum*: Neither am I yet satisfied about an antient Law concerning it of *Macer*, or as other Editions call him *Martianus*: (h) *Mille passus non à miliario urbis, sed à continentibus ædificiis numerandi sunt.* For that Gloss, or Scholion, which to *miliario urbis*, some doe annote *muro*, doth in my apprehension do nothing. For (i) *Plutarch* and other good Authors seem to say otherwise, whom the diligent Readers may peruse at their leasure.

(h) D. De verb. signif. lib. 154.

(i) Plut. in Gracchis.

I cannot think therefore of any thing else proceeding from the *Romans* times here or *Equivous* to their greatness, in so great a decay of antient memories, except it be the *Thames*; which as it hath exceeded the original of this brave place in time and being, so deserves it to have a few words spoken of it.

Having therefore brought first a very pertinent place out of (k) *Tacitus*, which I cannot well let pass me here, concerning the Rivers up and down *Britain*, and consequently the *Thames*, as the chiefest among them, I shall have done in few words: *Naturam Oceani atque æstus neque querere hujus operis est, ac multi retulere: unum addiderim nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec littore tenus accrescere ac resorberi, sed insuere penitus atque ambire, etiam jugis atque montibus inseri velut in suo.* Now because it is not the fashion in these daies, for all English Gentlemen to understand Latin, either through the ridiculous fondness of the Parents, or the easily palpable ignorance of the Masters or the Teachers, who if he be thought well of, he is like the German Priest in the story, *Sacerdos* indeed, but *non ad Grammaticam*: for such I say I bring the interpretation thereof: and that by a Gentleman too, whose various and profound learning, the proudest and most fastidious Sir need not think, if he were wise, any whit a disgrace to him:

(k) Tacit. in vit. Iulii Agricola, soceri sui.

Thus then he: To examine the nature of the Ocean, and tides, pertaineth not to this work, and many have done it before: One thing I will adde, and may safely avouch, that the Sea nowhere in the world rangeth and ruleth more freely, carrying by violence so much River water hither and thither, and is not content to flow and to ebb so far as the banks, but inserteth and windeth it self into the land, shooting into the mountains and cliffs as to his own channel. *Ninnius* the old British Historian, I remember calls this River and the (l) *Severn*, *duo brachiatoria Britanniae*. I am sure of this last it may be said, what the antients did of *Euphrates*: *Britanniam serit & rigat*; and that for more then fourscore miles; more then threescore of which it ebbs and flows twice in four and twenty hours. *Julius Cæsar* is the very first that makes mention of it, calling it (m) *Thamesis*. By *Dio lib. 40.* it is called *mapious*. (n) *Ptolemies* Copies are very much corrupted: For in some of them you shall have *Jamissa* put for this River. In the edition of *Joannes Noviomagus* I find

(l) Σεβεία Ptolemæo. Sabrina, Tacito.

(m) Cæj. De bello Gallico lib. 5.

(n) Ptol. lib. 2. Geograph.



(o) Pichen. in  
Taciti lib. 14.  
Annal.

(p) Qualis est  
MS. Cod. Bibli-  
oth. Publicæ  
Cantabrigiæ,  
apud quem ab-  
est.

(q) Epist. de ex-  
cidio Britannicæ.

(r) In VERV-  
LAMIO, ex  
D. V. serio.

(s) Holinsh.  
Chron. pag. 42.

(t) Polyd. Ver.  
Philip. Cluver.

(u) Camden, &  
qui illum se-  
quuntur.

(x) Beda Eccle.  
Hist. lib. 1. cap. 2.  
\* Thamefis.

(y) Fran. de  
Sacra Quercu.

(z) Anast. Sin.  
in ô ðnyç.

(a) Laonic.  
Chalco-condyl.  
De Rebus Tur-  
cicis lib. 2.

find Hymensius set down. In the Palatine MS. *Ἰμλύναις ῥῆσις*, *quasi Imensa estuarium*, and so heretofore Petrus Bertius published it in his Geography. Curtius Pichena, a learned Italian, in his (o) Notes hath restored the name of *Thames* there, reading it thus out of the Florentine Copy. *Visam speciem in estuario Thamesæ notam esse subversa coloniæ*: And as the name of this goodly River is thought to be well restored to Tacitus; so is it by the authority of the (p) best written books to be obliterated out of our (q) Gildas, as hath been (r) formerly shewed; Cæsar observes that this River was fordable in one place only, which some think was at (s) Kingstone: others at (t) Windsor; others, and they more probably at (u) Coway-stakes by Oatlands. Of them hear what (x) Beda saith: *Quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur, & videtur inspectantibus, quod singula earum ad modum humani femoris grossa & circumfusa plumbo immobiliter hareant, in profundum fluminis infixæ*. The same forenamed learned Geographer Cluverius, finds fault with Cæsar, for that he sets down the Thames to be *A mari circiter millia passuum LXXX.* and reprehends him, that he is *interdum negligens Geographus, etiam in iis locis, quæ ipse adiit*. But let the care of that be, as indeed it belongs, in the hands of the *γορηάπων παίδες* among us. And the manner of writing the Rivers \* name also, seems not to admit of the usual composition of the name from *Tama* and *Isis*: but to that let the learned Camden see, and other diligent antiquaries. But I am sure they speak more to the purpose, and are rather to be hearkned to, than the (y) Author of that Greek Etymology, who deduces the name of the River from *τίμνω ἐτα-μω*, because it separated, or cut in sunder the land where it went: except you will say he sported with our youth, as did sometime that (z) great Abbat, who deriving the word *δένωτο*, tells us it was *ὡς δὲ δένωτο*, and so brings it from *ἴδνημι*, and *νῶτο* *dorsum*: because men, when they are dead, are laid upon their backs. Much better could I bear with that late (a) Græcian, who neerer our common pronuntiation of *Temis*, hath written the word *Θέμεις*. So much evident lucre, and a certain sense of gain, could effect with some men among us, to suffer our Schools to be furnished with any thing, it matters not what.

*Et succus pecori, & lac subducitur agnis.*

The Ewes of juice, the Lambs of milk deprive.

But I said I would have done with the Thames in a few words:

At ille  
*Lavatur & habetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

The



But it o're-floated rides,  
And still doth keep its constant tides.

The state of *London*, and the *Trinobantes*, whose chief City it was, at the coming of *Julius Caesar*, and after him, was thus; as himself hath left recorded. *Cassibelaunus*, so he calls him, had lately made War upon them, and slain *Imanuentius*, the chief Governour and Commander: Whereupon *Mindubratius* his Son, (b) *Orosius* and *Beda* after him, name him *Androgorius*; but others *Androgeus*, applying himself unto *Caesar*; and he having brought *Cassibelaunus* to terms of yielding, he received likewise from him special Command, at his last quitting of the Island, that he should not presume to annoy *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, as friends of the Roman State and *Caesar*. (c) Thus much himself. As for the gallant City, I will take my leave of it, and its admirers, in the words of *Otho*, out of that wise Oration of his (for (d) *Tacitus* made it for him: ) a little before he became Emperour, and his words concerning *Rome* very little altered:

(b) *Paul. Oros. lib. 6. cap. 9. Beda lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(c) *Cæs. de bel. Gallico lib. 5.*

(d) *Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.*

*Quid? vos pulcerrimam hanc urbem, domibus & tectis, & congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista & inanima intercideret, ac reperari promiscue possunt. Aeternitas rerum, & pax reipublicæ, incolumitate urbis firmatur.*

NOVIOMAGO. M. P. X. ] Besides in *Antoninus* here this station is likewise mentioned by *Ptolemy*, who calls it *Noviomagor*, and names it as the chief City of the *Πῆγροι*, *Regni*, or the *Surrey-men*; as *Camden* pleaseth; but *Cluverius* makes them to be *Cæsars Bibroci* rather: The most probable conjecture we can make concerning the old name of this place, is, that it was brought from beyond sea, out of *Gallia Belgica*: we have (e) formerly produced authority sufficient for practice and custome here in this kind. It seems to be very antient, for it is taken notice of by that antient Geographer *Mirinus Tyrius*, as *Ptolemy* witnesses, (f) calling him *novissimum Geographorum finitimis hisce temporibus*, and reprehends him, that he had placed *Noviomagum* of *Britain* by Climates more Northern then *London*, and more Southern by Itinerary account. But why may not we have *Ptolemies* own words? see, there they are: (g) \* *Novοιστινίς τῆς Βρετανίας Νοιομαγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νοτιωτέρων μιλίοις ἑβ. ὀρεοπέραν αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν κλιμάτων ἀποφαίνει.* The *Military Tables* published out of *Con. Rensingers* Study, have *Madus* a Towns name: of which the learned (h) *Mark Velfer* of *Auspurg*, not knowing what to make, did by a slight conjecture, conceive it to be the same with *Novioma-*

(e) *Vide CONDATE, &c.*

(f) *Ptolem. Geograph. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

(g) *Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 15. \* Lege, Novοιστινίς.*

(h) *Velf. Notis in Militar. Tab.*



gus; the first half of the word being worn out and lost; in the other G. being turned into D. But Camden refers it to (h) Maidstone in Kent. For old Marinus, I know not how to excuse him: but sure I am that our Chorographers are a great deal farther wide then he, while some of them will have Noviomagum to have been, where (i) Chester now stands; as Sir Thomas Eliot: others at (i) Euxingham, as George Lilly, in his book of the Names of antient places: some again at Guildford, as (k) Humfrey Lhuid. But worst of all (l) William Harrison, who derives this Towns name from the first founder Magus, the Son of Samoches, the second King of the Celts, that reigned in this Island. two presumptuously! when as from (l) better authority by far, we may learn, that Magus amongst the old Gauls, and so consequently the Britains, signified oppidum, or a Town. Camden, our learned Antiquary, seems in his opinion to have lighted pat upon the place, where this old station sometime stood, in Surrey, at Woodcote, two miles Southward of Wimbledon, on an hill, in quo modica urbis manifesta visuntur vestigia, saith he. And he thinks he is in the right, both from the situation, as also distance from London. And before him a learned man Robert Talbot, sought for it neer there about at Croydon, adding, that juxta Ptolemaeum non potest longe remota esse à Londino, cum nec in longitudine, nec in latitudine plene dimidiatum gradum: And it is well known how easily and frequently Ptolemy both is, and may be corrupted. But a very rational (m) Gentleman is not pleased with either of these; and he saies he cannot conceive how Noviomagus should be a stage for this Rode (A Londinio Rutupias:) and lye wide of London, as Woodcote doth, so many miles, and consequently set the Traveller at as great a distance from the place whither he is bound \* Richborough as when he first set out of London. Considering this, and the distance between London and Rochester, by the Itinerary, I should rather place it about Crayford, much about ten miles from London, upon or along some Hill or Down, since it is otherwise called Noviodunum. Thus far he; very judiciously as he doth other things. Yet we may be permitted to request satisfaction in some doubts, which cause us not to give such assent to his words, as we would be willing otherwise to do. As first, what we shall say to Ptolemy, who places it among the Regni, not amongst the Cantii: and it is not likely, that he there, where he reprehendeth the want of care in (n) another about the position of this place, would himself be so overseen: neither may it be said that the Cantian Territories were more contract then, than they are at this day: we would know likewise, what ground or place may be the likeliest to be assigned and set forth for this station in old time to have stood upon: for it cannot be that there are no vestigia, or so much as the very ruines to say, Here once it was. We would gladly know

Vide (h) in  
VAGNIACIS

(i) Will. Harris.  
descript. Britain.  
lib. 2. cap. 7.

(k) Fragn. de-  
script. Britain.

(l) Plin. Nat.  
Hist. l. 3. cap. 16.

(m) Mr. Will.  
Sommer, De-  
script. of Can-  
terbury.

\* Rutupia.

(n) Marinus  
Tyrius.



know likewise where these divers readings are to be found, which tell us that *Noviomagus* is otherwise called *Noviodunum*. We know very well what *Dunum* signified among the old Britains and Gauls in composition of the names of Towns and Cities. We have heard also, but never in Britain of *Noviodunum* among the *Ædni* in France or old *Gallia*; for we have it described by (o) *Cæsar* himself, and it is at this day called (p) *Niver-nium*, as one tells us, then whom no body could tell better. We might also question (q) *John Twines* judgement and authority, whom he allegeth for the straitness alwaies and directness of the Roman waies in the Island; when as we have already diverse times shewed, that observation to be faulty, and shall again when occasion offers it self, do the like. *Talbot*, whom I named erewhile, to answer for the Travellers much going awry, and out of his way, that setting out of *London*, and bound for *Sandwich*, or *Rutupiæ*, goes first 8. or 10. miles wide of *London*, to *Woodcote*: or as himself pleaseth, to old *Croydon*, and from thence to *Maidston*, and so forward, speaks of two several waies, whereof the one was (r) *via longior quidem, sed per loca inhabitatiora planioraque, & prorsus aptiora ad conducendum exercitus: Hæc autem directior, magisque compendiaria*. He adds moreover that *Croydon*, being the possession of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, with other Towns was assigned, *per quas commodius parvis itineribus ad Concilia Regum ascendere Londinum, & descendere inde possent. Sic prima die veniant Londino Croydonam; secunda Otfordiam, quæ super eandem viam sita est; tertia Maidstonam; quarta Charingas; quinta demum die Cantuariam: Quo vel uno die expeditiores properantioresque pervenire possent perviam Rochestriensem*. Now he saies that he means old *Croydon*; for that neer there is shewed a place, which is called *The old Town*, taking up almost a mile in length, and farther off *London* than new *Croydon*; so seeking out the way, for the better consonancy of the distance.

(o) Iul. Cæsar. de bello Gallico l. 7.

(p) Iac. Aug. Thuanus Anno 1603. in Elog. Vidi Coquilii Romani.

(q) Io. Twinus in Albionis lib. 2. pag. 152.

(r) Rob. Talbot Annotat. in Antonin. MS.

(s) In editione Antonin. altera.

VAGNIACIS. M.P. XVIII.] This is a station of very uncertain positure, and therefore *Lbuid*, a knowing Antiquary, lets it pass with these words only. *Quod nomen hoc tempore habet penitus ignoro*. The corruption of the numbers of the miles is to be thought the cause of this ignorance and difficulty. And therefore *Talbot* considering that at this day it was but 27. miles from *London* to *Rocheſter*; he mends the number in his journey and of 18. he makes 8. reckning thus: from *London* to *Noviomagus* 10. from *Noviomagus* to *Vagniacæ* 8. from *Vagniacæ* to *Duroprova* or *Duropro-næ* (for the reading of this name is very divers:) 9. which small numbers being put together make up the foreſpoken number. Now he takes no notice of the obliquity of the way, for somewhere he saith, that *Croydon* is not *multum extra viam Cantuarium versus*: but so have others done. (s) *Will. Harrison*, another Antiquary of ours, complaining much of the depravation of the



numbers here; lets us know, that in one copy which he used to better his edition of *Antoninus*, he found after *Vagniacis* only VI. miles; and that perhaps faulty, though not so much as XVIII. on the other side: *Talbot* thinks that *Vagniacæ* is now *Wrotham* a Village at the foresaid distance. And he hath to back him that prudent and learned Lawyer, who lived not long after him, and who also wrote the description of his own Country *Kent*, *Will. Lambert*, sometime of *Lincolns Inn*. The reason why I say what I do, is because upon my knowledge *Talbot's* book was in great request with him; besides that he cites him divers times in his *Xenagogus* or *Perambulation* of *Kent*. But I could have wished that either of them, had brought us some reasons or grounds for what they say. This later indeed tells us that the English name is corruptly written *Broteham* in *Doomsday* book: and (r) that he supposeth that *Wypzham* is the very right name, given for the plenty of worts and good herbs there.

(c) Guil. Lamb.  
Xenagog. seu Peramb.  
of Kent.  
pag 170.

But *Camden*, who lately was known to have been K. of *Heralds*, and is reputed still by many of the best K. of our *English Antiquaries*, is thought to mistake, by keeping to the old number of miles XVIII. and so concluding it to be *Maidston*, a noted Town, call'd antiently by the Saxons *Pespeagrtun*, induc'd thereto, as he confesseth himself, by the answerable distances set down in the journey; there being something sounding like the first syllable of *Vagniacæ* in the Saxon name; though he take no notice of it to the Reader; but say some the journey will prove enormously awry, and out of the way to travel from *Maidston* to *Rocheſter*, and thence to *Lenham*, and so to *Canterbury*. And even so it may be said, that to go up to *London*, from *York* through *Wales*, is no straight or direct journeying, if we would be judged by any Northern Carrier, and yet so is all the former part of this very Journey, as is to be seen. And although there be, who think that *Durobrovis* or *Rocheſter*, is rather intended by *Ninnum* in his Catalogue of British Cities by his *Caer Medwag*, then *Maidstone*; yet can no body deny him this, that in the declining time of the Roman power in *Britain*, *Maidstone* was antiently called

(v) Tab. Milit.  
vetus à Marco  
Velfero edita.  
Habetur quoque  
in Bertiana  
Ptolemei editi-  
one.

(v) *Madus*.

**DUROPRONIS. M.P. IX.]** This Roman station is scarce met withal, I mean in any antient author, except it be in this Itinerary again. But here also so various is the reading of the name, as well in regard of the several Copies, as the journeys here, which you would take to be the right, is thereby rendred most difficult. In regard of the journys there is this difference: in this second journey you find *Durobrovis*: in the third *Dubobrus* M.P. XXVII. in the fourth, *Durobrins*, and again M.P. XXVII. That the same place is intended in all three, there need no doubt to be made at all; and for the two last, *Simler* a meer stranger, could say so too by finding the same distance from

*Dar-*



*Darvernum*, or *Canterbury*. In regard of the several copies *Hieronymus Surita*, the *Spaniard*, who diligently compared many of them, and diverse others will acquaint you: for he found *Duroprovis*, *Duropronis*, *Durobrivis*, *Dabobrius*, *Durobrovis*. In the *Pentingerian* Militarie Tables you have written *Roibis* for it, concerning which see *Petrus Bertius* his edition. From that contracted and the Latine word *Castra*, a Camp, changed into *Cearcen*, signifying to our fore-fathers a City, or an assembly of men enjoying the same rites, and privileges, *Roschester* hath proceeded, and at this day *Rochester*: Venerable *Beda* conceited it to be so called from one *Roffus*, it is not known, who he was; and to me it is uncertain whether ever. Hence is it that we have these words in him: (x) *Et justus quidem ad civitatem Rhofi, cui præfuerat, rediit.* And before these, this is also cited out of him, but not mended: (y) *Justum vero in ipso Cantio Augustinus ordinavit Episcopum in civitate Doroverni, quam gens Anglorum à primario quondam illius qui dicebatur Roschester cognominat. Distat autem à Doroverno milibus passuum ferme viginti quatuor ad Occidentem.* *Beda* calls it also *Castellum Cantuariorum*. And in an old book (z) belonging to *Rochester* you read, *Dabo unam villam\* quod nos Saxo-*

(x) *Beda Eccles. Hist. l. 2. cap. 6.*

(y) *Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

(z) *Qui dicitur Textus Rossensis MS.*

\* *L. quam.*

*nice An Haga dicimus in Miridie Castelli Hrobi*; whence often in *Deeds* *Hpone cearten*; the R. it seems having an aspirate before it, like P in Greek. *Harrison*, *Camden*, and *Ortelius* seem to have found among them *Durobrevis*. Yet our *Talbot* witnesseth, that in the Charter of the foundation of the Monastery, it was called expressly, and, as his own words are, *disertis verbis, Durobriva*. Hear his own words: *Quod Rochester olim Durobriva vocabatur, Charta Foundationis Monasterii, quam Prior, qui nunc Decanus est ibidem mihi aliquando ostendit*; And he deduces the name from *Dorbryf* i. e. *Quick-stream*: for here indeed the current of the *Medway* is very impetuous and violent. But this as I remember, he owes to *Leland*.

**DUROLEMO. M.P. XIII.]** The distance otherwise is set down 16. miles. Many learned men have busied their brains about this station. I will barely deliver their opinions at this time; others, as *Lhuid*, will not venter upon it.

First *Talbot*, who dreams of *Charing*; and another time of *Seethingbourn*; and knowing, that the first part of the name might come from *Dour*, which in *British* signifies water; and also that *Bourn* in the Saxon noted a torrent or stream increased with rain water; and seeing there a large Channel sometime replenished therewith; he would if he had had a little more *Welsh*, and known what *Leve* had signified in that language, have concluded something: but however he saies it is *Aqua levis*, and so speaks nothing at all to the purpose. But the old name of it in the *Pentingerian* Military Table, *Burolevum*, confirms his reading the Name by V. though indeed that B. hath crept in for D.



But *Camden*, the next that saies any thing, who reads the name *Duro lenum*, thinks it *Lenham*: and that it signifies, *The dwelling, ad Lenum aquam*; telling us that at this Town a Water meets with the *Medway*. Besides the reliques of the name, as he pleaseth, the distance he saith also, from *Durovernum* and *Durobrovis* make it good that this is *Durolenum*: to say nothing that it is sited by the Roman Consular Highway, which from *Dover*, through the midst of *Kent*, is continued on still; for which he brings *Higden* of *Chesters* testimony.

The last is *William Somner*, a knowing Gentleman, who for his Courtesie, and love to antient studies, I singularly respect, who, it being distanced by the Itinerary XIII. miles from *Durobrovis*, takes it to have been seated not far from *Newington*, a Village on the road between *Rocheſter* and *Canterbury*. In this particular not a little strengthened and upholden in his conjecture, by the multitude of Roman Urns lately found in digging there; at such place as is already discovered, and discoursed of, by the learned *Meric Casaubon*, his ever honored friend.

If any shall stumble at the disproportion of miles between it, and *Durovernum*, let them know, saith he, there is even as great between *Lenham* and *Canterbury*.

He goeth on: Why it should be called *Durolevum*, I am altogether ignorant. What if I conjecture, (because the *Itinerary* saies out the rode from *London* to *Richborough*, and not *è contra*) from having the River or Water of *Medway* on the \* left hand of it, as by the inhabitants tradition, *Newington* sometime had, and within about two miles of it yet hath?

\* verum hoc in  
sensu Latins  
dicitur à Gr.  
λαίον.

(2) Thorn. in  
vitis Abbatum  
S. Augustini.

If any looking for better Remains of a Roman station, shall object the mean condition of the present village, such may know that *Newington* hath been a place of more note in time past, then now. I read of a Nunnery there of antient time, &c. and he quotes his (a) Author for what he saith. But having had such thoughts my self that way many years ago, ever since the first publication of *Antoninus* *ἡς ἑαυτὸν* by that incomparable man, the generally acknowledged Heir of his Fathers vertues, and great learning, I could not temper my self, with the Readers good leave, from causing his discourse to be transcribed hither, being so suitable to the present business, and coming from so learned an hand: He therefore, having out of *Lucian de Lucru*, cited a place treating of the severall sorts of burial used by sundry nations: ὁ μὲν Ἕλληνας ἐκώσων · ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἐδάψεν · ὁ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ὑάλην περὶ χεῖν · ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατέδλεν · περὶ χεῖν δὲ ὁ Ἀἰγύπτου. i.e. The Grecian did burn; the Persian burie; the Indian doth anoint with Swines grease; the Scythian eat; and the Egyptian powder, or imbalme. Begins that discourse thus:

When *Antoninus* then saith, (either an imbalmed carkasse, or ashes;) he doth allude to the custome of his daies among the



the *Romans*, which was either to bury ( the bodies of the richer sort being first imbalmed : ) or to burn : though indeed the later, through the increase of *Christians*, began soon after *Antoninus* his time to grow much out of use every where. Now they that burned, used to gather the reliques of the dead corps, consisting of bones and ashes, and to lay them up in *Urns*, *Ollis*, *Ossuariis*, in Pots, Urns, Crocks, and the like earthen Vessels made of purpose; and so to bury them. I would not note it, ( I must confess ) as a thing that I thought worth noting ( for I think there can be nothing more common : ) but that I am glad to take this occasion to impart unto the Reader a memorable curiosity in matter of antiquity, which by the learned Antiquaries beyond the Seas, I am sure, would be much esteemed. Some two or three miles beyond *Sittingborn* in *Kent*, West, as you go to *London*, there is a little Village in the way called *Newington*. It hath not been my luck hitherto in any either later book or antient Record, to find any thing concerning this Village worth the noting. All that I can say of it, is, that the inhabitants shew a place, to which they say that in former times the water came, as indeed by many circumstances it is very probable : and that *Milton* ( a Town before the conquest of great fame, and of very great antiquity ) is not above two miles from it. About a quarter of a mile before you come to *Newington*, not much above a stones cast from the high-way, on the right hand as you come from *Sittingburn*, there is a field, out of which in a very little compass of ground, have been taken out by digging within these few years, *Roman* Pots and Urns, almost of all sizes and fashions, and in number very many : some thousands, I have been told upon the place; but many hundreds I am sure I may say, and speak within compass. And though so many have already been found, and carried away, yet doth the field afford them still ( as I am told ) now and then, according as you prove either skilful or lucky in the digging. The figures of some of them I have here caused to be represented to the Reader.







procured unto me from the Right Honourable (for his worth, and love to learning as well as by his place,) *Richard*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, &c. whom, with some other rare Antiquities it was sent unto, some years ago. I was desirous to compare these that I had (for the Inscriptions sake especially) with some others of the same kind. But I find this difference, That whereas mine were much perished and worn by age, such was the brightness and smoothness of this middle (of the cover of it I mean, which is of a red coloured earth) as that it rather resembled pure Coral, then ordinary red earth: and as for the Letters of the Inscription, that they were not as mine rudely ingraven in with the hand, but in the same mould, and at the same time when the cover it self was formed, very artificially printed, or imbossed rather? as by these figures, that are represented you may in part perceive. Since that, when I passed last by *Newington* coming from *London*, among many other fragments of Antiquity in *M. Dearings* Garden I found the pieces of just such another Cover (but that the color of it is nothing so fresh) with this Inscription in the middle likewise, PRISCIAN. Now as the multitude of these *Newington* Urns (for I do not remember that ever so many in so narrow a Compass of ground were found: is observable; so is the manner of their laying in the ground. They that have been present often at their digging up, have observed, that where one great Urn is found, divers less vessels are; some within the great, some about it: all covered either with a proper cover of the same Earth and making as the pot it self is; or more coarsely, but very closely stopped up with other Earth. Of all those small vessels of what fashion soever that are found either in or about these Urns, I know no other use (to satisfy in some part their curiosity, that wonder at them when they see them) that was ordinary among the Romans, but either to contain some fragrant odoriferous liquor, and durable confection; or that *libatio* of wine and milk, that they used about their dead; or lastly (not to speak here of those burning Lamps that have been found in some antient Urns and Monuments, which so many have largely written and disputed of) to receive and preserve the tears that were shed by the friends of the deceased for grief of their death, as for the difference of the greater and lesser Urns, *Fabrizius* in his *Roma*, and *Martianus* in his Topographical description of the same, are of opinion, that when Urns of different bigness are found in the same place; the greater were for the greater and richer, as the Masters and *Patroni*; and the lesser, for the poorer and inferiour, as the Servants and Clients. In things of this nature, which were I mean altogether arbitrary, there is no question but different fashions were used in different places; yea, and likely in the same



same place, as every mans particular conceit or humor served him. And therefore it were hard to determine any thing as certainly and generally true. But as for these *Newington* Urns this seems to have been the custome there used. One great Urn was appointed to contain the bones and ashes of all one, either household or kindred. As often therefore as any of them dyed, so often had they recourse unto the common Urn, which so often was uncovered. To prevent this, I find that the fashion hath been in some places, to let in the ashes through some holes made and fitted for that purpose. See *Gruter fol. 814*. Now besides the great and common Urn, it is likely that every particular person that dyed, had some less Urn or Vessel, particularly dedicated to his own memory, whereby both the number of the deceased, and the parties themselves might the better be remembered. There might be also another use of these lesser pots, in my judgement very necessary, and that is, that by them the common great Urns, might the better be known and discerned one from another, which being so neer, in so small a compass of ground, and not much unlike one another, might otherwise easily be mistaken. And this is the more likely, because of those many hundreds that have been taken up of the lesser sort, scarce have there been found any, of one and the same making, I hear not of any thing that hath hitherto been found, in these *Newington* Urns besides bones, and ashes: and sometimes clear water. And so do I read of Urns or Earthen Vessels *plenis limpidissima aqua*, that have been found elsewhere, as that which is mentioned in *Gruterus, fol. 927*. I doubt not but many would be glad as well as I to know certainly what this place hath formerly been. But alas, how should we (who are of yesterday and know nothing) without the help of ancient Records, recall the memory of things forgotten so many hundred years ago? Thus much we may certainly conclude: First, from the multitude of these Urns, that it was once a common burying place for the Romans. Secondly, from the History of the Romans in this land, that no Urn is there found, but is 1200. or 1300. Years old, at the least: so many ages of men have these poor Earthen Vessels (of so much better clay for durance then humane bodies are) outlasted both the Makers of them, and the persons to whose memory they were consecrated. Lastly, from the place, which is upon an ascent (and for a good way beyond hilly,) not far from the Sea, and neer the High-way: we may affirm in all probability, that it was once the Seat of a Roman Station. If any man can teach me more of it, I shall heartily thank him. Since this was written, I made another journey to the place, and spent some time there in digging, but with no success. However, that I might not return home empty, the same Mr. *Dearing* gave me a piece of Urn, which hath this Inscription, FUL. LINUS.

DU.



DUROVERNO. M. P. XII.] It is also written according to the diverse Copies of *Antoninus Duroverno*, and *Duroverno*; as *Simler* and *Surita* have noted, and in the 2. next journys, *Durarverno*: in *Ptolemy* too not much unlike in the (a) best edition *Δαρεργον*, as in that verse:

(a) *Petri Bertii editio Geograph. Ptolema.*

*Darve: numque vetus, mitrato culmine gaudens.*

Old *Duroverno*, of her thatcht roofs proud.

For in the common ones, it is corruptly *Δαρεργον Darvenum*. In the Military Tables of *Conradus Pentingerus* you find it named *Duraverus*, corruptly I suppose. In *Beda* and other of our Writers, it is *Dorobernia*; later Writers have given it the name *Cantuaria*, as by the Saxons it was *Cant-papabyrig*, and the Britains *Caer-Kent*. What and how great its fame was in the Romans time, is now unknown and forgot; but for its modern splendour and glory, I refer you to courteous Mr. *Somner's* Description thereof, not leaving out among others the great (b) *Erasmus*. I had almost forgot, to acquaint the Reader that *Duroverni* (*Doroverni* my old friend *Abraham Wheelock* prints it:) is in (c) *Beda* to be changed into *Durobrovis*, or *Durobrivis*: the whole place as it is usually extant, you shall find if you look back to *Rocheſter*. Out of the long list of the Metropolitans of this famous City; I only mention *Theodorus*, a man unlike the Sanguinary Monk *Auſten*, his predecessor; and that not so much because he is antient, or Countreyman to Saint *Paul*, born at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; as for that he was in his time a great (d) restorer of the *Greek* studies, in this Island; of whose *Greek* books we have divers yet extant, after a thousand years in our well furnished Libraries at *Cambridge*.

(b) *Colloq. de Peregrin. Religionis ergo.*  
(c) *Bed. Ecclef. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

(d) *Adi Historiam nostram Græcæ lingue, quæ nuper prodidit pag. 52.*

The River *Stour*, somewhat violently passeth by this City whence it is, that our learned Antiquary derives the name, as his manner is, from the British *Durwbern*, which is, saies he, as much as *Fluvius rapidus*: *Lhuyd* before him, and a natural Britain saies, that *Durywbern*, in his language was plainly what *aqua ex alneto fluens*: but *Talbot* who was before them both writes, that a *Welshman* rendred *Darvernum* to him, *Dour arguern*, quasi *Aqua juxta paludem, aut Marisum*: and thence he deduces it.

AD PORTUM RITUPUS. M. P. XII.] And so have we done with this journey. For we have spoken concerning this station, and haven likewise, somewhat largely in the head or very beginning of this same journey. If you desire to have more of it, you had best have recourse thither.



## ITER. III.

Editio

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

XIII. ITER A LONDINIO AD  
PORTUM DUBRIM.  
M. P. LXVI. sic;

† Dubobrus.

† DUROBRIVIM. M. P. XXVII.

† Dubobrus.

\* Durarvenno. 15.

\* DUROVERNUM M. P. XXV.

\* Durarvenno. 15.

AD PORTUM DUBRIS. M. P. XIV.

His third journey is from *London* to *Dover*: the two stations in the way *Durobrivis* and *Darovernum*, are already, sufficiently to my *instutum* and purpose, spoken of. It remains then, that we speak of *Dubris*, or *Dover*. Which though it be very antient, as appears well by finding it in this Itinerary: yet they seem to me, either not thoroughly acquainted with the studies of old time, or else very ill advised, (e) who to make it more antient, have devised that *Julius Caesar* was the founder of the Castle there. I have elsewhere taken notice, how the Antiquaries both at home and abroad, have pleased themselves with ascribing and entitling to him their stately and magnificent Buildings; when as in the mean while, they have none the very least authority for it: a thing which neither learned men should commit themselves, or admit of, done by others. But they, who did this for the credit and greater fame of *Dover*, added likewise that *Arviragus* fortified it against the *Roman* power, and particularly against *Vespasian*: which though it be probable enough, yet I would be held excused from peremptory delivering any thing, for which I had not sufficient good authority, and witness from approved Writers. And especially for *Arviragus*, I am much at a stand, because I find so little mention of him, in any Writer, whose word I dare safely take. I hear of him onely by (f) *Juvenal*, and that too in an abusive way, where the Satyrist scoffs at the *Roman* Senates abject and base flattery of *Domitian*; and among the rest *Fabritius Veiento* gives in his verdict concerning the great *Turbot* presented to the Emperour; thus:

(e) Ex Tabula  
illic pensili.

(f) *Invenal.*  
Sat. 45

Non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus astro  
Percussus, Bellona, ius, divinat, & ingens.  
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumph; ;  
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno  
Excidet Arviragus, peregrina est belua, cernis  
Erectas in terga sudes. —

Ve-



Veiento came not short of him, for he  
 Divin'd, Bellona as inspir'd by thee.  
 A mighty Omen, Sir, this Fish must bring  
 Of some great Triumph, or some captive King.  
 Or from the Pole of's British Chariot  
 Arviragus shall fall; perceive you not  
 It is a Foreign Monster by the scales  
 Prickt up on's back? —

The old (g) Scholiast upon the Poet, saies this King was called *Arbiba*. But a coyn among the κέρμλια of the Cottonian Library makes him rather to be called (h) ARIVOG. of him, we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere. Camden though he think it no better than a dream, to say that Julius Caesar was the founder: yet he conjectures that it was first built by the Romans, and that by reason of the British tiles, or bricks, in the Chapel, wherewith they used to lay their ground-works. That after the times of this Itinerary the Romans had a garrison here, the Notitia of the Western Empire gives a large and unquestionable testimony: There quartered, saith it, at *Dubris*, that is *Dover*, *Præpositus Militum Tungricanorum (sub dispositione Viri spectabilis) (i) Comitatus Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*. These *Milites Tungricani* were reckoned among the *Auxilia Palatina*; called so from the *Tungri*, a people of *Germania secunda*: but now we call it *Brabant*. It would be worth any ones while to peruse (k) Tacitus concerning them. By *Ammianus* their (l) *Civitas* is said to be ample, & copious. Belonging to the Magazine of arms of this Garrison, were those great Arrows, used to be shot out of a Basilisk, and now adaies shewed strangers for rare things, as Camden tells us. But enough of them. That at *Dubris* there was *Portus*, or an Haven to land in Britain in those daies, *Antoninus* his witness is a sufficient proof. After the Romans dayes, the Saxons named it *Dofra*: and hence it is, that you have it constantly called *Dofris* in *Eadmerus* his *Historia Novorum*, published by the learned *Selden*; and out of the same Monk they bring the reason of the name, *quia clausus & impeditus erat*. But *Will. Lambert* more probably deduces it from *Dufyrha*, which in British signifies a steep place. Of the later Haven, so many have already spoken, I may save my self a labour. The steep cliffs there by the Sea side are called by (m) *Cicero* *Moles mirifica*, as by (n) *Appian* also κρημνὸς τῆς Βρεταννῶν. And Britain it self was antiently expressed by a woman sitting upon a great Rock, or Cliff, in the Main, as may be seen in *Antoninus Pius*, and *Severus* his Coyns, and for that ἀπείρατος, or ἀπείρητος, that is, unpassable Ocean, which washeth upon, and encompasseth this Island, the Queen and Commandress thereof, I shall request the Reader to take so much pains, as to read over these few (o) verses, made upon the expedition hither of *Claudius* the Emperour:

(g) Editus à P. Pithæo.

(h) Vsserius in Primordiis pag. 583.

(i) Guid. Pancirol. in Notit. Occid. cap. 72.

(k) Tacit. lib. De Morib. Germanorum, &c. (l) Am. Marc. lib. 15.

(m) Cicero. ad Attic. lib. 4. Epist. 16. (n) Appian. l. 2. κρημν.

\* Clemens Rom. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. v. illic Patric. Iunium. (o) Ios. Scalig. primus edidit in Catalect. &c.



*Oceanus nunc terga dedit, nec pervius ulli*

*Cæsareos fasces, Imperiumque tulit.*

(p) *Al Semoto.*

*(p) Semota, & vasto disjuncta Britannia ponto,*

*Cinctaque inaccessis horrida littoribus.*

*Quam pater invictis Nereus vallaverat undis,*

*Quam fallax æstu circuit Oceanus.*

*Aspice contundit populos impervia tellus :*

*Conjunctum est, quod adhuc Orbis, & Orbis erat.*

Now waves thy Empire bound, nor Cæsar can,

Carry his power beyond the Ocean :

And Britainy divided from all Lands,

Hem'd in with Seas, rough Shores, and swallowing sands,

Which Nereus wall'd with waves on every side,

And circled in with a deceiving Tide ;

Thou mayst strange lands with people mixt behold

Now a great World, and was a World of old.

For two reasons Antiquity conceited this Sea most dangerous, and unpassable. First, for the great abundance of huge Sea-

(q) *Lib. 4. Od.*  
14.

Monsters, believed to be bred therein ; which not only (q) Horace intimates in these words :

—— *Belluosus, qui remotis*

*Obstrepat Oceanus Britannis.*

The Monster bearing Sea, which roares

About the dangerous British Shoares.

But Juvenal also in his Tenth Satyr :

*Quanto Delphinus Balæna Britannica major.*

—— ——— As our Dolphins faile

To match the hugeness of the British Whale.

(r) *Imbris Ma-*  
*ritimis.*

*Festus Avienus*, (r) who lived under *Theodosius*, and is mentioned with good credit by *S. Hierom*, borrows the former expression, speaking likewise of the Ocean Sea :

*Non usque navibus turbidum late fretum,*

*Et Belluosi gurgitem Oceani secant.*

Yet through the Monster-bearing Ocean they,

Had not with winged Vessels cut their way.

(s) *Iac. Synce.*  
*Sannaz. Eclog.*  
*Piscator. v.*

And I may well think both places were in his mind, (s) who wrote that gallant verse, (and such are all his :)

*sensit*



*Sensit Arar, sensere maris fera monstra Britannii.*

*Arar, and British Seas fell Monsters knew.*

A singular ornament indeed he was to the last age, and antient Poetry it self, (t) who as he enjoyed, not only the Dwelling, but the Muse also of the Prince of Poets while he lived, so had he the happiness after he was dead to lye neereſt his Reliques. The second reason was, not only unexpected Tempests and Storms suddenly arising thereon, but the unusual violence also of the Tides, which if we hear *Pytheas* of *Marseils* in *Plinie* (u) (for *Strabo* (x) hath utterly exploded his credit in what he relates of the *Britannies* : ) make it swell fourscore cubits higher than the land. *Mare, attolli horrendis aestibus adſuetum*, ſaith \* *Amm. Marcellinus* ſpeaking of it. *Cæſar* (y) himſelf had dear experience of the roughneſs of it, when he neer loſt his whole Navy upon our coaſt. *Maxima coorta tempeſtate, prope omnes naves afflictae, atque in littuſejectae, quod neque anchorae, funeſque ſuſſiſterent, neque nauta, gubernatoresque vim tempeſtatis pati poſſent*; and he found to his charges, to uſe his own words a little further. (z) *Longe aliam eſſe navigationem in concluſo mari, atque in vaſtiſſimo ac aper- tiſſimo Oceano.* And certainly the danger which he conceived, and feared might happen, either in or after his paſſage, made him very wary, and provident in making choice of a fit ſeaſon for it; which indeed (a) *Appian* tells us he did. Neither did time, or improvement of ſkill in Navigation, leſſen this fearful apprehenſion with after ages concerning the certain perill and hazzard which they underwent that ſail'd this Sea. Hear we *Tacitus*: *Quanto violentior, cetero mari Oceanus, &c.* *Annal. I.* *Baſil* the great calls it, (b) *πλάγος ῥήγας, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπολμῆτος*; which *S. Ambroſe* renders, (c) *magnum & inauſum navigantibus, atque in- tentatum nautis mare, quod Britannias* (d) *frementi includit aequore, atque in ulteriora & ipſis fabulis inacceſſi ſecreta porrigit.* *Libanius* alſo the famous Sophiſt, and Maſter unto *Julian*, living in the ſame age with *S. Baſil*, and deſcribing with what jeopardy *Con- ſtantine* the Emperour croſſed this Sea into *Britain*, he calls it *ἀπέραντον*, (the very word that *Clement* uſeth before : ) unpaſſa- ble; (e) eſteeming more danger to be in this paſſage, then in a Sea-fight elſewhere; and the performance thereof with ſafety to deſerve no leſs then a Trophæe. *Plus eſt tranſiſſe ad Brittan- nos, ſaith Pſeud-Hegeſippus \**, *Britannia dicitur Vigilio, nec non eum ſecuto Lucio Floro Hiſtorico Romano.*

(t) *Hic ille*  
*Maroni Synce-*  
*rus, Muſa pro-*  
*ximus, ut tumu-*  
*lo, Petr. Bemb.*  
*Cardinal.*

(u) *Natur. Hiſt.*  
*lib. 2, cap. 97.*

(x) *Geog. lib. I.*  
*ἀνὴρ Ἰουδα-*  
*ιστῆς.*

(\*) *Hiſt. lib. 27.*

(y) *Com. de bel.*  
*Gallico, lib. 5.*

(z) *Ibid. lib. 4.*

(a) *Ἐμφυλ.*  
*lib. 5. Ἐπὶ*  
*ἐξοῇ δὲ καὶ*  
*τὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ*  
*ἀμύμονος.*  
*&c.*

(b) *Homil. 4. in*  
*Hexaëmeron.*

(c) *Lib. Hexa.*  
*cap. 3.*

(d) *Oceanus*  
*barbaris flucti-*  
*bus fremens*  
*Paulin. de eo-*  
*dem. Ad Geo-*  
*graph. Nubien-*  
*ſem Clim. 4.*  
*part. I.*

(e) *Βασιλι-*  
*κῶ Panegy.*  
*Conſtan. ὡς*  
*ἀρρομείζων ἐστὶ*  
*κίνδυνος (ita*

*enim legendum videtur : ) πολλὸν σφοδρὺλον καὶ ἐκείνης ἀφῆναι τῆς θαλάττης ἢ ναυμαχίαν ἢ τῆς*  
*ἐν αὐτῇ συστῆσαι.*

\* *De Excid. Hieroſolym. lib. II. cap. 9.*

To 10



Toto Orbe divisa ] Oceano scilicet, quem navigasse olim non minus periculosum crediderunt, quam alio in mari pugnam navalem instituisse Libanius in Βασιλικῷ, de Constanti in Britanniam trajectu; ὡς ἀεὶ μίζων ἐστὶ κινδυνός (ita enim legendum videtur) πλοῖον σερυσίλον ἔσθ' ἐκείνης ἀφέναι τῆς θαλάσσης, ἢ ναυμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῷ στήθεϊ. Ideoque propter æstus contrarios, & ventorum violentiam πύλας ἀπέχοντες, id est, intransmeabile, & impervium vocat: quemadmodum & ante eum Clemens Romanus in Epistola ad Corinthios ἀπέχοντες ὠκεανὸν ἀπελλarat. Eum Clementis locum, ab Origene ex eo adductum lib. II. περὶ ἀρχῶν, Ruffinus ejus interpretes ita vertit: Oceanus intransibilis hominibus, & trans eum Mundi. Basilus Magnus Homil. IV. in Hexæmeron. τὴν πύλαν τῷ Βρεταννικῷ νῆσον περιπτυσσόμενον, μέγα καὶ πλοῦτος ἀτόλμητος. quem locum Ambrosius ita expressit: Quis deinde sci- at, in quantum se illud magnum, & inausum navigantibus, at- que intentatum nautis fundat mare, quod Britannias frementi includit æquore? Hinc Julio Firmico, Christiano scriptori, libro de errore profanarum Religionum ad Constantini M. FF. tumentes, & sævientes undæ Oceani Britannici dictæ. Et Ammiano lib. 27. Mare, attolli horrendis æstibus adfuetum. Imo ipsa in Britan- niam navigatio, alia re nulla præclare gesta, sola etiam maximi Tri- umphi instar visa est eidem Libanio: Οὐ χέρενα, inquit, τετραῖς τε με- γίστῃ φαίνεσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ταῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν κερταῖς τὰ κύματα. Nec non Scriptori De Excidio Hierosolymitano, qui eodem seculo vix- it, & vulgo Hegefippus dicitur, lib. II. cap. 9. Testis est Britannia extra Orbem posita, sed Romanorum virtute in Orbem redacta. Quos ætas superior ignoravit, didicit Romanorum victoria. Serviunt & ipsi, qui quid esset servitus, ignorabant: soli sibi nati, & semper sibi liberi, quia à superiorum potentia, interfu- so Oceano secreti metuere non poterant, quos nesciebant. Plus itaque fuit transisse ad Britannos, quam triumphasse de Britan- nis. Quid enim facerent, elementis Romanorum imperio sub- jectis? Item lib. V. cap. 46. ubi Titus Cæsar ita Judæos alloquitur. Aut quæ civitas nostræ obsidioni inexpugnabilis foret septa præ- sidio murorum, cum Britannias quoque Romana arma pene- traverint, muro frementis circumvallatas elementi? Substractus est nobis ille præruptus aquæ mons. Patres Vestros, ut Judai- cæ fabulæ ferunt, rubri maris unda, muri specie transeuntes circumvallaverit: Romana fortitudo murum Oceani perfregit. Gessimus ante bellum cum fluctibus, insanum mare ante super- avimus, quam ad hostem perveniremus. Excepit nos Britannia, jam victores elementorum. Quibus illi fidebant, nec subegi- mus, ut ad triumphum cumulum ipse Oceanus accederet. Quippe octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere æstus, Pytheas Massiliensis actor est, uti testatur Plinius lib. II. cap. 97. Ut Cæsar nihilo plus in eo fecisse videatur, quod primus omnium Romanorum cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, ut scribit Tacitus in Agricola, prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac littore potitus sit, quam quod

Oceani Britan-  
nici fluctus hor-  
rendi.



quod Oceanum barbaris frementem fluctibus, ut Paulinus ait, navigarit. Lucius Ampelius, vetus scriptor, quem Cl. Salmasius in publicum dedit, in Libro Memoriali: ROMA per Caium Cæsarem Gallias & Germanias vicit. Britanniam sub hoc duce non tantum videt, sed etiam \* navigarit Oceanum: quasi illud majus esset. Quippe Cæsari major fuit cura Oceano, quam cum ipsis Britannis rixa.

\* Vide Iulian in Cæsa. de navig. ejus in Britan. & Panegy. pag. 201. fin.

Not he whom Irenæus, Eusebius, and others cite: quam triumphasse de Britannis. And ad triumphum cumulum ipse Oceanus accessit, are the words of Titus Cæsar in the same \* Writer. And well might he think so, when as that stupid Caligula, affecting some great design against Britain, with an Army, as appears out of Dio, of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, being come to the shore, durst hardly look the British Neptune in the face, much less trust him. Yet, that he might not be said to come so far to no purpose, himself with some few more (f) lanches out in his Galley, but fear makes him instantly put in again. However to make something of it upon the founding of a charge, he commands his Army, which stood in Battalia all the while upon the Shore, to gather Shel-fish, (for it was upon an ebb:) and therewith to fill galeas and sinus (g) spolia Oceani vocans, Capitolio, Palatioque debita: calling them Spoiles of the Ocean due to the Capitol and Palace. The Bravado of Claudius, next after him, was not much more tolerable: For counting it not enough to triumph for reducing a small part of the Island, (which indeed he entred with some successe, but I remember not whether with any danger in the passage:) after his return, he caused to be placed upon the top of his Palace a Navall Crown, as if he had tamed and subjugated the Ocean, like another Xerxes, in despite of the power of God appearing in that fierce Element; for which he is deservedly scoff'd at by Seneca, (h) in that mock-Deification, which he wrote for him in these words:

\* Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 46.

(f) Dio & Aurel. Victor. ex edit. A. Schott.

(g) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 46.

(h) In 'Αποκολοκωιδώσει.

Et ipsum  
Nova Romanæ  
Jura securis  
Tremere Oceanum.

} And him, the new  
} Authority of Rome,  
} The swelling Ocean fears.

But what shall we say to Julius Firmicus, a Christian Writer, (shame on such flattery:) who would seem to perswade Constans the Emperour, and Constantius his Brother, that they might expect little less than a Triumph, onely for their bare adventuring over into the Island: Hyeme, (p) he tells them, (quod nec factum est aliquando, nec fiet: tumentes & savientes undas calcastis Oceani Britannici, sub remis vestris incogniti jam nobis pene maris unda contremuit, & insperatam Imperatoris faciem

(p) Lib. de errore profanar. Religionum sub fin.



*faciem Britannus expavit, quid amplius vultis Vertutibus vestris  
victa Elementa cesserunt.* Thus much of the British Ocean :  
which only to have sail'd in old time was æquivalent to a con-  
quest in the Continent ; and somewhat more too : for so saith  
one Writer (g) *Quasi illud majus esset.* And though this passage  
thereof be called *fretum Gallicum* by *Solinus*, and particularly  
*fretum Morinorum* by (h) one much antienter in that verse :

(g) Lucius Am-  
pelius in libro  
Memorial. editus  
à Salmasio.

(h) Gratius Fa-  
liscus in Cyn-  
getico.

*Quod freta si Morinum dubio resfluentia ponto.*

But if the *Morin* Main with dubious floods.

(i) Cornel. Ta-  
citus Am. Mar.  
(k) Straboni,  
Plinio, Dioni.

Yet speak (i) they more properly, to whom it is *fretum  
Oceanis*, and *Oceanus fretalis*. Except any one like to call it  
*Oceanum* (k) *Britannicus* ; which the incomparable *Selden* so  
learnedly proves, and against all Strangers asserts and makes  
good.

ITER.



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. IV.

Editio.

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

ITER A LONDINIO AD  
PORTUM LEMANIS.

M. P. LXVIII. sic ;

DUROBRIVIM. M. P. XXVII.

Durobritus.

Durarvenno. 15. DUROVERNUM. M. P. XXV.

Durarvenno. 15.

AD PONTEM LEMANIS. M. P. XVI.

AD PORTUM LEMANIS. M. P. XVI. ] *Lime*, or  
*Limen*, was very antiently a Town in the East part of Kent,  
and a Haven withall, which *Antoninus* witnesseth, in whom  
some read *Limenis*, as well as *Lemanis*, the common reading in-  
deed thereof. Wherefore *Surita's* edition is quite faulty, which  
hath AD PONTEM LEMAN. for PORTUM. The di-  
stance from *Durovernum*, or *Canterbury*, appears by him to have  
been XVI. M. P. And that that way was in *Talbots* time *pulcer-*  
*rime strata*, himself bears witness. Neither since him is the  
learned *Camden* silent thereof. And they both mention the ruins  
of an old Castle, the walls of which being of British bricks,  
flints, and the cement consisting of Lime, sand and pebles, so  
coagmentated, that they seem not to yield to time it self. If in  
*Ptolemy* you find it any where (a) it is sure *καὶ τοῦ λιμένος*; whereof  
the last word being significative in *Greek*, besides that it was the  
usual name of the place, the Transcriber to supply the defect,  
as he thought, devised and added the other Word *καὶ τοῦ*. Al-  
though it be the conjecture of others, that from the very first  
it was so in *Ptolemy*, and the name seeming too long, was after-  
ward made shorter by the first word, it being called here at  
first *Limen*, or *Leman*, or as some have added *Limpne*: and of  
that interfection of P. in many *Latine* words too, as in *sumpsit*,  
*prompsit*, *dempsit*, &c. I would have the industrious Reader to  
look out, what the old *Grammarians* have observed. In the  
declining condition of the Roman Empire in the world abroad,  
suitable to *Antoninus*, ye have it call'd *Lemanna* in the *Notitia* or  
Survey of the Western Empire: *Sub Dispositione Viri Spectabilis*  
*Comitis Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam Præpositus Numeri Turna-*  
*censium Lemannæ stativa habuit*: placing it, as indeed it was one,  
E e among

(a) *Ptolem. Geograpb. lib. 2.*



among other the Ports, or havens of the whole Island then in use. They that render *Lemanis*, *Hith*, make use of a word, that signifies in our fore-fathers language as much as *λιμὴν* doth in Greek, a Port, or station for Ships: though there be now none there. But such it was sometime, as some of our own Writers still extant can make it good; and I will cite one of the antientest of them, *Ethelward*; *In Limneo portu constituunt puppes, Apoldre* (so I read, for the Print is corrupted) *loco con-*  
*dicto Orientali Cantiae parte, destruuntque ibi prisco opere castrum*  
*propter quod rustica manus exigua quippe intrinsecus erat, illicque hi-*  
*berna castra confirmant.* And Henry of Huntington shall follow him, who lands the Danes (whom *Ethelward* means) *ad Portum*  
*Limene cum CCL. navibus, qui portus est in Orientali parte Cent*  
*juxta magnum nemus Andredslaige.* In which two several narra-  
 tions you need not take notice of any difference, more then the  
 transposition of Letters in the name. But of the *amnis Limen*  
 out of our Historians, and the differing relations among them  
 concerning the Danes landing here in King *Alfreds* daies, as a  
 business beneath the time of my undertaking, I forbear to speak,  
 commending the curious Reader, for better satisfaction, after  
 (b) *Lamb. Xenogog. Cantiae.* *Talbot* and those antienter, to what (b) *Lambert*, and *Camden*,  
 two most diligent Antiquaries, have to that purpose, besides  
 that glory of our nation, as *Grotius* calls him, in this last age,  
 (c) *Anglorum gloria gentis* *John* (d) *Selden.* I had almost forgot to tell you, that in the  
*Selden. Grotius.* Itinerary Tables, as they call them, or the loose sheets found  
 (d) *Illustrat. ad Polyolb. cant. 18* at *Auspurg*, and set forth by the Noble *Mank Velfer*, this place,  
 but falsely, is called *Lemavio*. But I excuse them there, when I  
 find it as much amiss Printed in our own Presses, *Limieno*. Our  
 (e) *Richard. Vetus Hist. Brit. lib. 1. N. 36.* fugitive Count Palatine, (e) *White*, or as he calls himself, *Vitus*, tri-  
 fles with us, as his usual custome is, and would perswade us,  
 that it was so called from *Lemanus*, an old imaginary King of  
 the Celts in *Pseudo Manethon* of the old forging Monk *Joannes An-*  
*nius* of *Viterbium*; as was also saith he, *Lacus Lemanus* in France.  
 The *Numeri Turnacenses*, which were said in old time to have  
 resided here, were so called of *Tornacum*, a City of *Gallia Belgi-*  
*ca secunda*, called at this day *Turnay*, taken by the English in our  
 Grandfathers dayes.



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. V.

Editio

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

Leguvallio.

ITER A LONDINIO LV.  
GUVALLUM AD VALLUM  
M. P. CCCCXLIH. sic;

CÆSAROMAGUM. M. P. XXVIII.  
COLONIAM. M. P. XXIV.  
VILLAM FAUSTINI. M. P. XXXV.  
ICIANOS. M. P. XVIII.  
CAMBORICUM. M. P. XXXV.  
DUROLIPONTEM. M. P. XXV.  
DUROBRIVAS. M. P. XXXV.  
CAUSENNIM. M. P. XXX.  
LINDUM. M. P. XXVI.  
SEGELOSIM. M. P. XIV.  
DANUM. M. P. XXI.  
LEGEOLIUM. M. P. XVI.  
EBORACUM. M. P. XXI.  
ISUBRIGANTUM. M. P. XVII.  
CATARACTONEM. XXIV.  
LAVATRIM. M. P. XVIII.  
VERTERIM. M. P. XIII.  
BROCAVUM. M. P. XX.  
LUGUVALLO. M. P. XXII.

Causennis.

Causennis.

Legeolio.  
Ebur.

Legeolio.  
Ebur.  
16.

Levat.

Levat.

14.

14.

Brocovo.

Brocovo.

Luguvalio.

Luguvallo.

25.

ITER A LONDINIO LUGUVALLO AD VALLUM.]

Talbot conceives, that this AD VALLUM was added by the hand of some *Sciolus* or Smatterer, seeing it is plain, as he saies, from the second Journey, that the Wall was beyond *Luguval- lum* above XX. miles But by his leave, it was so neer unto it, that it may well challenge to it self the words of the (a) Histo- rian, being *proxima mansio* to it, and so it will appear to them, who with their own eyes make a diligent search after the site and distance thereof. But you must understand me so, as spea- king of the more noted and spacious kind of Stations.

(a) *Æl. Spart.*  
*in vita Severi*  
*Imp.*

CÆSAROMAGO] This station you have again repeated in *Antoninus* his IX. Journie, which is described from *Venta Icenorum* to *Londinium*. *Baromagus* is put in the place thereof in the



(b) *Qui edidit  
cum Notis suis.*

(c) *Plin. lib. 3.  
cap. 16.*

(d) *Rerum Scot.  
lib. 2. hoc magis  
suspiciari nos  
possumus pro  
certo affirmare.*

(e) *The Town  
of Drusus.*

(f) *Vitus Hist.  
Britan. libro 1.  
n. XIX.*

(g) *Sueton. in  
Augusto cap. 60.*

(h) *Festus Ruf-  
sus Breviar. ad  
Valentinian. Im.*

(i) *Libro de  
Regnorum suc-  
cess.*

(l) *Is. Casaubon.  
ad Sueton. l. 6.*

\* *Teste Plutar-  
cho, sive quis  
alius auctor est  
libri fluminibus.*

antient Itinerary table, which was set forth out of the Library of *Conrad Pentinger*. But that came to pass by the heedlesnesse of the describer, as the noble and learned (b) *Velfer*, who published it, hath rightly observed. For when as he made no good use of his eyes, and the former letters being blotted, were scarce discernable, it is plain that he mistook B. for S. that thereby *Cæsars City*, or *Town*, is signified; and that we the rather believe this, *Plinies* authority causeth us, who not obscurely telleth us, that amongst the antient *Gauls*, by the word *Magus*, a Town was understood: (c) *Industriam Oppidum ad Bodincum, id est, Padum fl. vetusto nomine Bodincomagus appellari, quasi dicas, Oppidum ad Bodincum.* And truly in all the Provinces, in which there was any publike use of the *Gallique* tongue, in the expressing of the Names of Cities this termination is frequent: which sufficiently shews it to have been a *Gallique* word. Although *Geo.* (d) *Euchanan* contend, that we may rather surmise this, then they can for certain affirm it. To omit the names of Cities abroad, among which (e) *Drusomagus*, which we meet withall in *Ptolemy*, is especially to be observed; with us are found *Noviomagus*, *Citomagus*, besides this *Cæsaromagus* here: all which names whilst (f) *Richard White* deduces from *Magus*, I know not what imaginary King of the *Celts*, he would stir the spleen, as well as the Cholar of many, who knew not, that he held it of custom to dote now and then: so small a matter was it with him still to have his fancy running upon the *Trojan* war, except he also bring down our *Britain* affairs from beyond *Cecrops* & the *Arcadians* themselves. But sober men, and such as have their eyes open, as they know that there were many Cities built throw the Provinces, for the honour of the *Augustæan* Name, called *Augustæ* and *Sebastæ*, of which we have spoken before; so may they learn from the *Roman Historian* (g) *Reges amicos atque socios, & singulos in suo quæque regno, Cæsareas urbes condidisse.* And particularly: (h) *In honorem Augusti Cæsaris Mazaca civitas Cappadociæ maxima Cæsarea cognominabatur: Jornandes, or Jordanus, as others call him, is witnesse of the same thing. Cappadoces magnam civitatem suam Mazacam in honorem [Tiberii] Cæsaris Cæsaream appellaverunt.* *Tiberius* had both Titles, *Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, as well as others. And though in the very age of *Augustus*, not so many (l) as is observed, so many *Cæsarea urbes* are not to be met withall among *Geographers*, yet in the following, when flattery grew more ripe, many were new built, and new named so: and so it came to pass, that adding to the name of *Cæsar*, either *Dunum*, which with the old *Gauls* either was as much as \* *Collis*, or a City set upon a high place; you have *Cæsaro Dunum*: or by putting thereto *Magus*, this *Cæsaromagus* in this place, and another in *Gallia Belgica*, named also by *Prolemæus*, belonging to the *Bellovaci*. A great argument and token,



token, that the old language of the Britains was the same with the antient *Gallique* tongue, accordingly as we see learned men are pleased to have it so.

Two excellently learnedly men, and most diligent, in the explaining of the matters of their own Countrey, *Talbot* and *Camden* do seek for this our *Cesaromagus*, according as the *ratio Itineraria* doth require it, yet in several places: of whom the (m) first, believes it was that Town, which now commonly is called *Chensford*, or *Chernsford*. The distance, saith he, (for I do not think it much to translate his words hither, because his *Lucubrations* upon *Antoninus* are hitherto unpublished) very fitly agree; for it is from *London* by modern computation XXV. miles, which indeed will make XXVIII. Italic miles (as you have in this Itinerary) neither doth the name very much ablude. And in the IX. journey *Cesaromagus* is placed in the way which leads from *Colchester* to *Londinium*. But you will say, who at this day being to take his journey from *London* to *Carlisle*, doth chuse his course by *Chensford*? I answer, that perhaps they did so some times formerly. For also the Kings of *Scotland*, as we have heard, were wont to come up to the Parliament here this way, and that they, or someone of them, built a Covent of the order of *Dominicans*, or preaching *Friers*; as they did also a house of Nunnes at *Elstow* or *Elinstow* by *Bedford*. Adde moreover, that the Author of this Itinerary, who ever he was, seems not to have followed the shortest cuts, and straitest waies, but thereafter as he attended the *Proconsul* or *Legate*; who for his pleasure, or business sake; as, either to hold Courts of justice, or to lift more forces, or sometimes to confirm his Souldiers, turned aside into greater Towns not quite out of his way; might seem to have set down those places, through which the *Legate*, or *Proprator* passed. And this very journey, which we have now in hand, seems to be of such an one: wherein he rode through *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge-shire* and *Huntington-shire*, to *Lincoln*, and thence to *York*, and so to *Carlisle*: otherwise what meant it, as it is here, two hundred and fifty miles, more or less? when as in the next journey to this, from *London* to *Lincoln*, there are but an hundred, and fifty.

(m) *Talbot. Ant-*  
*not in Itiner.*  
*Antonin. MS.*

Wherefore we must confess, by what hath been said, that here the *Pro-consul*, or what Magistrate soever, took his journey through the Eastern, and more noted Cities of the Maritime Countries; and so perhaps they used to set forth: but in the return, they visited the more *Mediterranean*, or *Midland* and *Western* places: or on the contrary these in their setting forth, the others in their return. And hence perhaps it is, that in the second journey between *York* and *London* there is so great a distance: a brief and *compendium* whereof he sets down afterward; namely in the third journey after this. This wheeling

and



and fetching compass about, must needs be on this side *Tork* and *Lincoln*, by reason of the breadth of the Island there, that the people might more conveniently appear before the Magistrates: beyond *Tork* there was no necessity of it, by reason of the narrowness of the Island in those parts, that they might meet from both the Seas to some one Town, as *Cataraſtonium*, or the like, without any great grievance of the people. *Cesaromagus* seems to have signified as much as *Cesaris Burgus*; as *Neomagus* in *Ptolemy*, *Novus Furgus*; *Rotomagus* as much as *Rotonis burgus*, &c. This I conjecture, but I know not certain. So far *Talbot*, whose words I have translated hither, because they seem to confer much to the explaining of the course of journeying here in *Antoninus*.

\* Neer Billicetay.

After *Talbot*, comes *Camden* in the *περίηγησις*, or former edition, of his great work: who in the place thereof hath *Burgsted*, that is, *Burgi locus*: by which name the more antient places are commonly expressed, at this day only a Country village, called by the *Saxons* heretofore *Sceobypig* where by *Florence of Worcester* in the year DCCCXCIV. the *Danes* are said to have raised *firmam munitionem*. But after his second cares, he supposeth *Cesaromagus* to have been neer *Brent-wood*. Yet himself questions his own conjecture, because saith he, both the numbers in *Antoninus* are very corrupt, and because he cannot bring the military way of the *Romans*, as an argument thereof: neither remaineth there any likeness of the name, but very small in the *Hundred of Ceasford*, now called *Cheasford*. Wherefore as in a dead and forlorn business with age and antiquity, we have nothing that we can say for a certainty; when as this Town perhaps fallen deep into the Earth hath lain in the bowels thereof some Centuries of years. Onely may we lament the fate of famous Cities, whose tops and Towns age hath not only demolished, but sunk them down deep into the ground; so that concerning them I may make use of that, which *Demosthenes* said of *Olynthus*, and other neighbouring Cities; (a) That they were so defac'd, that if any one came to the places where they stood, they might call it in question, whether ever men dwelt there, or no: so true is that, which *Rutilius Numatianus* in his *Itinerary* hath expressed in elegant verse:

(a) Περὶ πολ-  
λῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ πό-  
λεων τῶν τ' ἐ-  
πεῖν, ὅπερ εἶ-  
πε Δημοθέ-  
νης ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ  
Ὀλυθον, ὡς  
ἔπος ἡφανίσ-  
την, ὡς εἶ-  
μιν δὲ πῶποτε  
ᾤκισσαν  
γινῶναι ἂν π-  
να ἀπελθόντα  
Apud Stra-  
bon. lib. 2.

Agnosci nequeunt avi monumenta prioris,  
Grandia consumpsit mania tempus edax.  
Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi;  
Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

For antient Monuments cannot be known,  
Since eating Time devours great Walls of Stone;  
Why should we grieve at this our lives short date,  
When Cities be examples of like Fate.



COLONIA M.P. XXIV.] This famous Station named *Colonia*, is only to be found in *Antoninus*, and it differs from *Colonia Camolodunum*: for you shall have them both in this same Journey in him. In the last Edition of the Gallique Councils, set forth by *Jaques sermond* the Jesuit, you have among the Subscriptions of the first Council at *Arles*, *Adelphius de civitate Colonia Londinensium*; for one of the Bishops that came out of *Britain*, and by the learned (b) *Usher* *Colonia* there is thought to be this very Station, or City: but the incomparable (c) *Selden* rather judgeth it to be *Camolodunum*; whom take the pains to consult: and it will be worth your while. There is a World of Roman Coyn found neer about *Colchester* (for that all our Antiquaries acknowledge to be the place where *Colonia* sometime had its being: ) a great argument of the flourishing thereof under the Roman times and Command; yet I hear of none ancienter then *Gallienus*; the *Tetrici*, the *Victorini*, *Posthumus*, *C. Carausius*, &c. But its greatest glory was, that it brought forth *Flavia Julia Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine* the Great. There are those which contend for that, *tanquam pro aris & focis*; and (d) they make her the Daughter of a British King, *Coel* by name. I am not ignorant that (e) *Zosimus* makes her a mean and ignoble Woman: but his studied oblique against her, and her thrice noble Son, I am not now first of all to be acquainted with. It is well known also, how she is in the same manner honoured at *Triers* in *France*, as her Birth place; for they deny her *Britain* for her Country, as well as her glorious (f) Son: But the great (g) *Cardinal*, with (h) others, asserts it to both of them. By the Inscriptions of that age wherein she lived, we may gather, what opinion and esteem the World had then of her, for she was called *Piissima* therein, and *Venerabilis Augusta*.

Many have thought, that the City it self was called *Colchester*, from a Colony in the Roman Time placed there. But no such matter, rather think we it so named from *Coln* the River whereon it stands, as many other Towns else, and whence also we find this of old time written *Colon*, or *Colun*.

But of all, we must not once think that this is named *Kolavia* in *Ptolemie*, which it seems *Surita* did; for first that was a City of the *Δάμνιοι*, *Damnii*, a People far away remote in the North of the Island: then *Ptolemie* and other Greek Writers, when they borrow the Latine word *Colonia*, they commonly spell it by *o*, whenas this is read *Kolavia* and no Colony at all.

VILLA FAUSTINI M.P. XXXV.] During the Romans Power and Sway in the Island, this Station flourished there XXXV. miles beyond *Colonia*; but in some Copies it is only XXV. It is not certain in what age, for there is no mention left of it, but here in *Antoninus*: and once to imagine, that *Villa Faustini* in (i) *Martial* were meant of it, will be extremely redi-

(b) *Vsser. Tradat. de Episcopis, & in Primordiis, &c. p. 195.*

(c) *Selden Comment. in Eutychium pag. 118.*

(d) *Galsfrid. Mon. lib. 5. Brit. Hist. cap. 6. & ejus sequaces.*

(e) *Zosim. Hist. lib. 2. & οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλίσσης Κωνσταντίνης. Legend. ἀσκή. ex Iuliano impuro Apostata.*

(f) *Ipsius in Notis ad Admiranda sua, &c.*

(g) *Baron. Annal. Tom. 3. anno 306. Sect. 16.*

(h) *Vsser De Primordiis, &c. cap. 8. Selden in Eutych. in Ad-dend. ad rag. 115.*

(i) *Martial, lib. 3. Epigram 58.*

culous



culous. It is thought to have taken up that ground, where at this day the flourishing Town of *S. Edmunds-bury* stands: so heretofore though *Taibot*, whose opinion our great Antiquary confirms by the distance thereof, as well from *Colonia*, as *Iciani*, the two next Satons on either side. *Abbo Floriacensis*, who wrote the life of King *Edmund*, so foully murdered by the Danes, calls it *Villam Regiam*, and King *Sigebert* built a Church there; an argument that it was in those times a place of good note: for as we have formerly noted in severall places out of *Feda*, the *Villæ Regiæ* of the Saxon times had still their abode, where in the former ages the Roman Stations had been placed. Let us note this after the learned *Camden*, that the name of this place was in the Saxons time changed into *Bedeþicr-gueord*, which the same *Abbo* interprets *Bederici Cortis*, id est, *Villa*. Now *Bederick*, as well as *Faustinus* in the Latine (it is not known who principally is intended either by the one, or the other) having the bodement or signification of felicity, or favour; we may imagine that the Saxon name doth but meerly render the sense of the Roman; especially if we believe *Hadrianus Junius*, who giving a reason of the name of *Bateris* the Son of *Melon*, the *Sicambrian* (such is the ἀδελφία ὡνηγορινόν of the learned man: for in *Strabo* it is (k) ἀδελφῆ, that is the Brother:) makes it to mean as much, as *felicitate & favore plenus*. Among our Antiquaries I find this *Bederic-gueord* is severally written, as *Beatrices* worth, *Beodrices* curte. Out of an ancient (l) *Diploma*, or Priviledge granted in the yeare M LXXI. to *Baldegwinus* Abbot of *S. Edmunds-bury* by PP. *Alexander*, it is called *Badrices hurde*. But you shall see in *Weever's* Monuments, *Budrices Turthe*, out of a (m) Charter of King *Knute*, and he interprets it *Bederics* Court, Farme, or Mansion-house:

(k) *Strabo* lib. 5.

(l) *Apud* *Selden* *Notis in Eadmerum*, ex *Schedis* *Cotton*.

(m) *In Archiv. Turris Londinens.*

*Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas*

So great mutations works long-aged Time.

The learned *Fulk* had noted to this place, *Halsted*: but upon what observation, or what other reason, I leave to others to find out. But of *Villa Faustini*, thus much, and more perhaps then need.

ICIANIS. M.P. XVIII.] Among the many and severall people of *Britain*, in the Roman time, the *Iceni* were also reckoned, not only by *Antoninus* and *Ptolemie*; but by (n) *Tacitus* also, who mentions *Prasutagus* their King; the high undertakings of whose Queen Dowager *Boadicia*, he hath celebrated with an immortal Pen. A portion of them these *Iciani* seem to have been: for there are many reliques of their name in *Suffolk*, especially *Norfolk*, both which they are anciently thought to have

(n) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 14.*



have inhabited. Among the later of whom this Station is judged to have had its residence: though *Fulk* would have had it at *Exney* by *New-Market*; or *Hinkson* between *Cambridge* and *Walders*. But *Talbot*  $\omega\varsigma \alpha\nu \epsilon\mu\chi\epsilon\iota\theta$ , to use *Strabo's* words in the like case, as more conversant and acquainted in these parts; and so fitter to judge, if he cannot have it at *Thetford*, he judgeth it to have been at *Ic-borough* neer *Snaffam*: and herein doth our *Britain Pausanias*, *Camden*, follow him.

CAMBORICO. M. P. XXXV.] So had all the editions of *Anoninus*, which I made use of; that of *Aldus*, of *Simlerus*, and *Syrta*; and his written books also, saving that of *Longotinus*; which had *Camboritum*; the reading whereof our great Antiquary had rather follow: for so as he saith, very many Towns in *Gaul* also were terminated. Now the name it self being interpreted signifies either the Foard of *Cam*; for so they commonly call that River whereon it stood: but *Rith* founded a Foard to the old Britains: or else it is a winding foard; for that (a) *Cam* signified also with them. Which the very nature of the place seems to shew, for it was set in the  $\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\eta \tau\epsilon \pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ , at the very winding and compass of the River, as *Ptolemy* speaking of *Euphrates*; so that it was called *Grantcester* afterwards by the Saxons, the name being wonderfully changed: it is at this day a very small village, where I said by the River; yet heretofore reckoned among the XXVIII. most famous (b) Cities of *Britain*, the Catalogue of which *Ninnius* hath written; and wherein it takes place of *London* it self. But out of the ruins thereof that *Cambridge* did grow, the other ornament of the Island of *Britain*, or if I should call it the  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma \delta\omicron\phi\delta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$  rather as *Synesius* elegantly concerning *Constantinople*; there is no body a little more then ordinarily versed in humane studies, that is ignorant thereof. *Henr. Huntingdonensis Hist. lib. 1. Granteceastria, quæ modo dicitur Cantabrigia*: the name being compounded from *Oronta*, which the same Author in the fifth book calls *fluvium Cantabrigia*. Therefore this River seems named *Granta*, by the Saxons, which in old time was called by the Britains *Cam*. There is mention thereof in *William de Ramsey*, Abbat of *Crowland*, in the life of *Guthlac*, thus:

(a) Hinc Camurum pro eo quod in se recurrit, inter peregrinas voces notat Erasmus.

(b) Bed. lib. 1. Hist. Ecclesiast. cap. 1. & H. Huntingd. Hist. lib. 1.

*Est apud Angligenas à Orontæ flumine longo  
Orbe, per anfractus stagnosos & fluviales,  
Circumsusa palus*—————

*Oronta* with meandring streams,  
Makes many Marshes, Lakes and Fens.

*Camden* therefore seems, that he would have deduced it from *Oron* a Saxon word, which signifies a Fenny or Marshy place:



(c) In vita Regis Alfredi.

for (c) *Afferius Menevensis*, saith he, calls the marshy places in Somersetshire once and again *Gronnas paludosissimas*, by a Latino-Saxon name: and a City of *West-Friesland*, placed in a Marshie Soyle, is called *Groningen*, as is well known. Venerable *Bede* saith, it was in his time *civitatula desolata*: *Venerunt*, are his words, *ad civitatulam quandam desolatam, quæ lingua Anglorum Gratacester vocatur, & mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherime factum, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum*. But the Students shew also at this day the dwelling of *Beda* himself at *Cambridge*, wherein because afterwards there was a *Proseucha* or *Synagogue* of Jews settled there, they name now the *Jews House*: and yet *Beda* himself in plain words writes in his *Epitome*, which he hath joyned to his *History*, that when he was, *annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus educandus reverendissimo Abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido; cunctumque ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peregisse, inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis, & quotidianum cantandi in Ecclesia curam*. But concerning the beginnings of the University of *Cambridge* (for neither have we any need to have recourse to the dotages, and fooleries of the Monks) we have the same *Beda* a most sufficient witness: (d) In these times saith he, (about the year of *Christ* 627.) *regno Orientalium Anglorum, post Corpwaldum Redwaldi successorem, Sigbertus frater ejus præfuit, homo bonus ac religiosus, qui dudum in Gallia, dum inimicitias Redwaldi fugiens, exularet, lavacrum baptismi percepit, & patriam reversus, ubi regno potius est, mox ea quæ in Galliis bene disposita vidit, imitari cupiens instituit scholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur; juvante se Episcopo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque paedagogos & magistros, juxta morem Cantuariorum præbente*. That word *pueri* in *Beda*, King *Alfred* rendred *cnihcar* and *geonge* men, that is, Boys and young men; or as *John Cain* interprets it, *discipuli & juvenes*. Now whereas *Gervase* of *Tilbury* writes that *Castrum Cantabrigiense* was antiently called *Cantabricum*, any one might believe that this name was corrupted, and altered, from *Camboricum*, who knew not, that the Monks (such was the *acumen* of that lurking crew) did deduce it from I cannot tell what imaginary King of Spain, *Cantaber* by name. For *Camboricum*, *William Fu'k* himself also a *Cambridge* man, a Divine of great name, besides an Antiquarie, as Dr. *Usher* informed me, hath not noted down *Cambridge*, but *Comberton*, some three miles thence, for it.

(d) Beda Hist. lib. 3. cap. 18.

DUROLIPONTE M. P. XXV.] *Talbot* reads the number otherwise XXVIII. And thinks it *Huntington*, for saies he, there is *Dour* and *Pons*, which declare a place, where the Water or River was past over with a Bridge. *Camden* goes a little further, who thinks it was over against *Huntington*, and that it had its original thence; but then he will have the name used in the Romans time to have been *Durosponte*, as if you should say, *The bridge*



bridge at the River Ouse, Use, Ose, and Ouse being promiscuously used. And he will have the common name used at this day Goodman Chester, to be read Gormon Chester, from one Gormon a Dane in King Alfreds daies; of whom see the History. The Itinerary distance likes him well: and the place at this day being famous for nothing more then frequent tillage, the fields so often broken up afford great store of Roman Coyn. In Huntingtons time it was *Villa non inamabilis*, and of old time it was *nobilis urbs*, as he writes truly.

DUROBRIVAS. M. P. XXXV.] Henry of Huntington in his recension of British Cities adds six to Ninnius Catalogue, whereof this is one *Cair Dorm. id est, Dormecestre*; *quæ sita*, saies he, *in Huntendonensi provincia super flumen quod Vocatur Nen, penitus destructa est*. What is left of it at this day, is called Dornford, neer unto Walmsford. This in Camdens judgement is *Antoninus* his *Durobrivæ* here, which he interprets *Fluminis trajectus*: and it shews the manifest tokens of a ruined City; besides the antient coyn, which are found here in that abundance, that one would think they had been sowed here. Two Military Waies, whose Causseys are yet plain to be seen hereabout, whereof the *Erminstreet* leades directly from Huntington, as appears by very Antient Witnesse. And it seems, that the old City possessed both banks of the River. See Camden concerning *Caster* in the County Northamptonshire, and the reason of that name.

CAUSENNIS. M. P. XXX.] It is Talbots conjecture, that this Station *Causennes*, or *Gausennis*, gave the name to the hithermost part of *Lincolnshire*, now called *Casten*: even as *Lindsey*, another part thereof, hath its name from *Lindum*: but Camden calls it his opinion; who yet pretends to no certainty of place, or its antient standing, except it be at *Brigcasterton* upon *Wasb*, or *Gwasb*; so making some affinity of name between the old name of the Station, and the River at this day. Better, saies he, he could not light on at this time; the distance not gain-saying it: The later name *Brigcasterton* also, in which as he saies, *vetustatis nomen apparet*, so called *quasi oppidum Castrorum*, or, *à Castris dictum*, because of a Camp there sometime of the Romans. That *Brig* in the beginning thereof denotes the passage of the River there over a Bridge, which also parted the Roman Military Way. It is believed that the old *Gausennæ*, is now utterly ruined, at such time as the *Picts* and *Scots* plundered the whole Countrey about as far as *Stanford*, as Henry of Huntington is our Author; when our *Hengist* with his *Anglo-Saxons*, with unwearied prowesse, and extraordinary valour, so stopt the course of those outrageous Barbarians, that many of them being slain, many taken Prisoners, the rest shifted for themselves by flight.



LINDO. M. P. XXVI. ] *Robert Talbot* confesseth himself here at a great loss; about the antient site of *Λίνδον*, or *Lindum*, in *Ptolemy*, who sets it down for a City of the *νοεταυδῖ*, or *Co-ritavi*, and one of them, which by him are called *ἐμόνητοι*. And no lesse appears by *Antoninus*, in whom we have the VI. journey from *London* to *Lindon*, which confirms what *Ptolemy* saies: there is also in him another City, of the very same name, in the more Northern part of the Island: but of that in its own place, when we shall come to it. The great doubt of *Talbot* was whether of the two he might resolve on; for the old situation of *Lindum*: *Nottingham*; or *Lincoln*, or *Lindcoln*, as it was most antiently called. But he rather pitched on the former, thinking that it was *Nottingham*: and we will acquaint you with his particular reasons therefore.

*Robert Talbot*  
Annot. in An-  
tonin. anecdotis.

First, saies he, *Nottingham* was as antient as any place of note hereabout; and may be thought equal with the time of the Saxons entrance. As for the old Town, whatsoever the name thereof was in old time, the inhabitants shew it, with a well fortified Castle also, a most certain argument of Antiquity. What ever it was, none rather or more probably, comes into my thoughts then *Lindum*. The River which through *Nottingham* runs into the *Trent* is at this day called *Lin*, or rather *Lind*; which rising out of *Lindwood*, a little above the Village *Linsey*, by the Priory of *Newsted*, in a small Tract of ground, suddenly encreased with the sources of many springs, becomes an handsome River: then running down by *Lenton*, or *Lynton* Town, *Nottingham*, it is swallowed into the *Trent*, before it hath well finished twelve miles from the Spring. But by *Lenton*, I think, saies he, that *Lindum* in this place is meant: for *Nottingham* is very neer thereunto, so that it may seem sometimes to have been part therof: as which at this day is scarce one mile distant: what if we should say, that the old Town was there; for it is not a thing unseldome seen, that famous Towns have degenerated into little villages. And bringing several arguments, for the Antiquity of *Lenton*, as also of *Nottingham*: as that from *London* to *York*, no body will chuse his road through *Lincoln*, but ordinarily through *Nottingham*. Then that the distance from *Nottingham* to *York*, according to the Itinerary, suits at this day exactly, so also from *Danum*, or *Dancaster*, not amiss: nothing more conveniently: but from *Lincoln* to *York* and *Dancaster*, it doth not hit out so right. Again, by longitude in *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that *Lindum* is not so much stretched out to the East, as *Eboracum*. But *Lincoln* is just so much: but not so *Nottingham*: now though all this may be well answered, yet by these arguments, saies he *si qui alii mecum in eam sententiam descenderent, facile adducerer, ut crederem Lindum, de quo hic & apud Ptolemaeum, sit mentio, esse non quae nunc Lincoln, sed quae Nottingham; aut quae Lenton vocitatur.* But



But *Camden* is none of those, who will come to be of the same opinion with him : he then placeth *Lindum*, or *Lincoln*, at the Foss way, where it, and the River *Wytham* meet together : the Britains called this City *Lynd-coit*, from the woody situation thereof, for which you have it misnamed in *Ninnius*, *Luit-coit*. The Many believed it called *Lindum* from the River *Wytham*, which by an antienter name they say was *Lindis* : but they have no authority for it of any standing. With the Saxons it was \* *Lindo-colin* (*Camden* knows not whether à collino situ : ) and *Lind-cyllan-cearzer*. *Camden* rather deduceth it from *Lhin*, a British word signifying a Lake : and he brings many instances of the like. The curious reader perhaps will look for farther Antiquity : but there is none extant, besides what we have brought : yet if he please I bring that out of *Beda* : (a) *Prædicabat autem Paulinus verbum etiam provincie Lindis, quæ est prima ad meridianam Humbri fluminis ripam pertingens usque ad mare. Præfatumque Lindoco in civitate, cui nomen erat Blecca, primum cum domo sua convertit ad Dominum. In qua videlicet civitate, & Ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit, cujus tecto vel longa incuria vel hostili manu dejecto, parietes hæcenus stare videntur, & omnibus annis aliqua miracula sanitarum in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum qui fideliter quarunt, ostendi.* He mentions it again in the XVIII. chapter : but *Beda* is beneath that authority which I pretend to.

\* Vide omnino Galfrid. Monum. meth. Hist. Brit. lib. 9. cap. 3.

(a) Beda Eccles. Histor. l. 2. c. 16.

SEGELOCIM. M. P. XXIV. ] This Station in this Journey is so called ; which elsewhere you have written *Agelocum*. And this also is noted by *Talbot*, and *Simler*, by reason of the æqui-distance between *Lindum* and *Darum*, or *Danaster* : *Agelocum* therefore is to be reckoned among those words, to which the antients sometimes put an S. or *Sibilus*, sometimes they omitted it. So they called the Alpes, which in *Lycophrons Cassandra* we find written Σάλπιες : And they, who are called *Αρνιῶν* *Insula* by *Dionysius* the *Periegetes*, the same in (b) *Strabo* are Σαρνιῶν ; lying in the British Sea. *Salamantica* of *Spain*, is called by *Polybius* Ἀμαρπικὴ, and *Cæsars Sueffiones*, in *Ptolemy* are Ουέσωνες. To adde one Common Noun out of (c) *Dioscorides*, what in (d) *Virgil's* *Eglogues* is *Saliunca*, in him is ἀλιύγισα ; or rather take the whole place out of him : ἡ δὲ Κελπικὴ νῆσος γεννᾶται μὲν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λιγυρίαν Ἀλπίσιν, ἐπιχρῆως ὠνομασμένη ἀλιύγισα.

(b) Geogr. lib. 4.

(c) Περὶ ὕλης ἀρετῆς lib. 1. cap. 7.

(d) Virg. Egloga 5.

In our great Antiquaries judgement, this place possessed the banks of *Trent* in *Nottinghamshire*, where at this day *Littleborough* (a little Town, but very antient) stands, and that upon second cares. At this day it is famous for nothing more, then for the frequent pass of the River there. That the Romans held it, there are many things which cause a belief. For the Military Way went here, and the Tract of the Walls yet appears to be seen, which yet the Inhabitants, such is their

captus,



*captus*, do think were raised there to keep in the violence of the River. Then there is so great plenty of Roman Coyne in the neighbouring Feilds, that they are often rooted up by the very Swine: whence it is that they are commonly called Swine-pennies. The distance moreover from *Lindum* to *Agelocum*, or *Segelocum*, makes us not at all to doubt; although the same learned man write, in the *ὑπομνήματα* of his Work, or former edition, that it was *Idleton*, a Countrey Village, which is nowhere else to be found but by the River *Idle*; whence also is the Name: And it produced his Conjecture, whereby he would in *Antoninus* have *Adelocum*, restored for *Agelocum*.

For *Agelocum*, *Aulerton* in *Sherwood*, is the divination of *Robert Talbot*. *William Fulk*, for some small *ὑπονομασία*, would have it to be *Agle*, a small Village not quite VI. whole miles distant from *Lindum*; when as in *Antoninus* in any Copies that are extant of him, *Agelocum* is from it fourteen miles at least.

DANO. M. P. XXI. ] This was that Station, which in after ages was called *Dancaster*, and the Name shewes as much. It is *Talbot's* conceit, that the Water which runs here under a stately Bridge, was *Ptolemies* *Δῆνον κόλπος*, called by him *Humber*: for, saies he, the numbers in him of Longitude and Latitude added to this, and to *York*, are neer the same: then there is none beside hereabout, to which you may better apply it. I know not this: but I am sure *Hieronimus Surita* is wide here, and that very much, who would have *Δῆνον* of the *Durotriges* in *Ptolemie*, corrected into *Danum*: as after *Antoninus* it is also called by the *Notitia Provinciarum Occidentis*: where we read: *Sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Eritanniarum Præfectus Equitum Crispianorum Dano*. *Chrispiana*, saith *Pancirolos*, is a Town of *Pannonia* in this Itinerary; whence these *Crispiani* may seem to be taken: except, as he thinkes, we had better read for them *Chrestini*, out of *Velferus* his old Papers, who are a People of the Countrey of *Dorilania* in *Belgica* along the *Rhine*, whence these might easily be brought hither. In the Learned Doctor *Ushers* Edition of *Ninnius*, the old *Britains* Catalogue of our Cities, this place is called *Cair Daun*. Other Writers will tell you, that in the year Seven hundred fifty nine, it was ruined by fire from heaven; and from those ruins it hath not yet wholly recovered it self. See those Authors.

LEGEOLIO. M. P. XVI. ] We must observe in this place with *Talbot*, *Surita*, *Simler*, *Camden*, and others, that this station is in the third Journey after this called *Lagecium*. Besides their Authorities, the distance there from *Danum* exactly XVI. miles makes it good, and it was at *Castleford* a Village, *Marianus* calls



calls it *Casterford*, where the very meeting is of *Calder* and another Stream called the *Are*. Here are many and manifest remainders of Antiquity: as great store of Roman Coyn found here, which the common people call *Saracens heads*, taken up in a place named *Beanfield*, from the store of them sowed there by the Church: I might urge also the distance from *Danum* and *Tork*, between which here it is placed; to say nothing of its standing by the Military Roman way, and that *Hoveden* expressly calls it *Civitatem*, though not as *Cæsar* uses the words, but as it is commonly taken and understood.

*Leland*, whom (a) *John Baile*, *Harrison*, and *Fulk* do follow, thought it to have been *Pomfret*, or *Ponfract*: but we let him pass with his conceit. In *Josias Simlerus* his *Scholia*'s upon *Antoninus*, you have it mis-printed *Logetium*, for *Lagecium*.

(a) *Ioannes Balaus Centur.*  
XII. Sect. 62.  
et 63.

ISU-BRIGANTUM. M. P. XVII.] Some Books have M. P. XVI. which others correct into M. P. XXVI. but amiss I think. It is curtailed here for *Isurium Brigantum*. We have before said enough of that; we will here say something also of the people called *Brigantes*.

The [Βεργαντες] *Brigantes* were a people in (b) *Ptolemie* of the Island *Albion*, inhabiting from both sides thereof; mentioned also by *Seneca Tacitus*, *Juvenal*, *Pausanias*, *Antoninus* here, and the old Inscriptions. *Hermolaus* of *Byzantium* the Grammarian, who set forth (c) *Stephanus* the εθνογράφος, more contracted, hath also in a more contracted word [Βεργας,] by which he names them: (d) *George Buchanan* saith, that the right case of this word in *Stephanus* is *Brigas*, unde inflectimus, saith he, *Brigantes*, ut a *bigas* *bigantes*. In *Tacitus* you have in one place. *Jugantes*, pro *Brigantibus*, in all the ordinary printed books, by the same negligence of the Printers, whereby you had formerly *Tigenes*, for *Icenos*, a people likewise among us. His words are these, (e) *Præcipuus Scientia rei militaris Venutius* e *Jugantium Civitate*, ut supra memoravi, fidesque diu, & Romanis armis defensus cum *Cartismanduam* reginam matrimonio teneret. Truly it is exceedingly to be grieved at, that so many books of the *Annals* of *Tacitus* are perished, to the great loss not onely of our British Affairs, but also of the Common-wealth of learning; and particularly, that this place is corrupted, that there is no hope of finding out what we would but by conjecture. Plainly then, we must restore *Brigantum* hither out of him elsewhere: for it is constantly published so by him in all other places.

(b) *Ptol. Geograph. lib. 2. sed Britannia Camdeniana Interpreti Plinii nomen, pro Ptolemai, hic temere excidit.*

(c) *Auctore Suida.*

(d) *Geo. Buchanan. rerum Scotic. lib. 2.*

(e) *Tacit. Annali. 12.*

As for the severall Etymons, and Originals of this name, I had rather then say any thing my self here (for I have elsewhere (f) said enough:) refer you to *Lhuyd*, *Camden*, *Spelman*, and others; or if they speak not enough, to the *Becceselenismes* of (g) *Boropius* in his *Antuerpian Nights*.

(f) *In Britannia Romanorum.*

(g) *Vide eum in Gotodanicis, seu lib. 7.*

(h) *Tacit. in vita Iulii Agricola.*

The *Brigantes* are reported by (h) *Tacitus* to have been accounted



(i) Camdenus;  
quem sequitur  
Doctissimus Sa-  
vilius, aliique.  
(k) ἡ πόλις  
Πτολ. Ptol.

counted *Civitas numerosissima Provincia totius*: and indeed they contained (i) *Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire*, the Bishoprick, and all *Yorkshire*. I will set down the Cities, or (k) famous Towns of them, as I find them set down in *Ptolemie*; the explanation thereof, you shall have recourse to, in what I have said upon him: in the mean while briefly thus:

Ἐπίακον. *Epiacum*. This is remembred onely by him.

Οὐίννο Οὐίον. *Vinnovium*. In *Antoninus* it is *Vinovia*, and in some Copies, if not corrupt, *Viconia*.

Κατταράκτονιον. *Caturraetonium*. *Cartaraetonium*, in *Antoninus*: in the same *Antoninus*, and in *Beda* likewise, *Cartaraetone*.

Κάλατον. *Calatum*. It is named *Balacum* in *Antoninus*, or *Calcaria*, it is not in the same Itinerary; and *Beda*, as *Humphrey Lhuyd* thinketh amiss.

Ισέιον. *Iurium* here also mentioned, as also *Ifuria*.

Ριγόδενον. *Rigodunum*. *Camden* makes the site hercof to be the same with *Coetium* in *Antoninus* Itin.

Ολίκανα. *Olicana*. In other Authors there is no mention thereof to be found.

(l) In Cod. Pa-  
latin. teste Pe-  
tro Bertio. ita e-  
stiam & Ferd.

Non Pintian.

(m) Editus ab  
Andrea Schot-  
to. In Severo.

(n) Ptol. in  
Canone ἑπ-  
τήμων πόλεων  
qui inter Cano-  
nesejus *Astrono-  
micos ἀνελδο-  
ις habetur.*

(o) Ptol. *Al-  
magest. lib. 2.  
cap. 6.*

Κάμυλοδενον. (l) *Camulodunum*. This is in *Antoninus* *Cambo-*

δυνον. Ἐβόρακον, λεγὼν 5. νικηφόρον. *Legio Sexta Vitrix*. Whence we know it was a Colony. However (m) *S. Aurel. Victor* calls it *Municipium*: *Britannia municipio*, saith he, *cui Eboraci nomen*. The same *Ptolemie* calls it (n) elsewhere *Ἐβόρακον*, *Evoracum*. In the same Author in his (o) *Great Syntaxis*, which the Barborous call the *Almagest*, it is named *Βεργάντιον*, *Brigantium*; if the Printed book be not corrupted, which *Camden* very luckily suspected. It was indeed the head and chief seat *Βεργάτων*, that is, of the *Brigantes*; but the admired Doctor *Usher* hath taught us that in the Greek MS. Copy, of the *Lambeth Library*, the word *Βεργάντιον*, is altogether wanting, for which the Latine Translations out of the Arabick have *Bericanas*; as it shall be shewed in its due place.

*Juvenal* the Poet means these Cities by *Castella Brigantum*, which you shall find in his fourteenth Satyr in this Verse:

*Dirue Maurorum attegias, Castella Brigantum.*

The Moorish Huts or British Towers destroy.

For most an end where the old Romans had their Stations, or *Castra*, there were Cities and great Townes builded; where also in after ages not onely the British, but the Saxon Kings had their dwellings: as I could plentifully observe out of *Beda*, if there were occasion.

(p) In Απο-  
κολοκωδῶσει,  
five Ludo in  
morem Claudii  
Imp.

The place which is mentioned onely taken out of (p) *Seneca*, I shall



I shall think good to bring hither, if it be but to shew the severall readings thereof: these then are his words;

Ille Britannos	Colla Catenis
Ultra noti	Jussit, & ipsum
Littora Ponti,	Nova Romanae
Et * caeruleos	Jura securis
Scuta Brigantes	Tremere Oceanum.
Dare Romuleis	

\* De nigro, & caeruleo colore: vide Iul. Scaliger. Exercit. 325. Sect. 10. Aliis quoque in locis.

(q) Ad Tibulli lib. 4. Panegyri. in Meßallan & Animadvers. ad Eusebii ann. 325. LX. (r) In ipsum locum.

\* Tacit. lib. de Moribus German.

(s) Virgil. Aeneidos lib. 7.

For *Scuta Brigantes* Joseph (g) Scaliger, that great Dictator in Learning, pleaseth himself wonderfully in reading *Scoto-Brigantes*; and as his manner is, flights all the Gain-sayers: let the time be when it will, when the *Scoti* came first to be made known to the World. He doth well indeed to take up (r) *Hadrian Junius*, who hath *Cute Brigante*; against the right reason and observaoion of quantity of Syllables. *Junius* is therein so confident, that he doth take his Oath for the reading: but he hath not yet perswaded the learned World of men to it. For the old reading yet with them taketh place: For as painting their bodies, generally was taken notice of amongst the Britains; so is it not unlikely that they had also their Bucklers painted, as well as other Nations: as we read \* that the Germans were *Scutalectissimis coloribus distinguere soliti*, and amongst them the *Ary* had *tincta corporas* and also *nigra scuta*, and the *Labici* are yet known by that place in (s) *Virgil*:

— Et picti scuta Labici.

And th' Bucklers of the painted *Labicus*.

About these *Brigantes* here (t) *George Buchanan* doth notably *de-lirare*, as became a man of such imperiousness, and insolency.

(t) Buchan. Rerum Scotiarum lib. 2.

It is not very certain how the *Brigantes* became first subject to the Romans; but certain it is, they were often conquered by them. It is worth the while to consult *Tacitus*, from whom we have a full relation of their Affaires. They were doubtless in the defection of *Boadicia*, and a considerable part among the Britains in that their revolt. *Galgacus* the *Caledonian* in his speech to his men to animate them against the Romans, shews as much: (u) *Brigantes*, saith he, *Femina duce exurere Colonias, expugnare castra, & nisi felicitas insecordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere*. Now whereas for the *Brigantes* in this place, *Camden* doth substitute the *Trinobantes*, I could wish that he had not done it against the authority of all books: *Galgacus* his meaning is to incite his *Caledonians* to Valour, and the study of liberty, by the

(u) Tacit. In vita Agricola.



example of other Britains, all whom he calls *Brigantes*, who were better known to his men, being a great deal the neereſt unto them, and the moſt populous people of the whole Iſland. But they were not wholly ſubdued till *Veſpaſians* time, as we find by the ſame Author; when *Petilius Cerealis* fought againſt them *multa prælia, & aliquando non incruentia; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus aut bello.*

(x) *Ælius* In *Hadrian's* daies, therefore a main defection of all the Britains hapned out. Now if there be any place for conjecture, the *Brigantes* ſeem to have revolted, when *Julius Severus* was called out of *Britain*, where he was Preſident to go againſt the Jewes, who then alſo rebelled. *Dio*, or rather *Xiphilin* out of him, is our Author for it: *Ἰούλιος Σεβήριος ἀπὸ Βελτανίας ἧς ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ σαλεις.* But finally *Hadrian* himſelf in perſon came hither, who *converſis, regio more militibus Britanniam petiit: in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia paſſuum primis duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret. Et compositis in Britannia rebus, in Galliam tranſgreſſus eſt,* as *Spartianus* writes. And in our daies too there are extant, taken up amongſt the *Brigantes*, very many Antiquities which ſpeak *Hadrian's* being here, and his doing many things amongſt them. Yet though ſubdued by him, they took Heart again, and as the Poets ſay, *victis redit in præcordia virtus*: for under *Antoninus Pius* they over-ran *Genannia*, an ſociat Country here of the Romans: but were againe brought under by his Legate here (it ſhould ſeem *Lollius Urbicus*;) and loſt part of their owne Territories. This is witneſſed by a good (y) Writer of thoſe times: *Ἀπετέμετο δ' Ἀντωνίνου ὁ εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἐν Βρετανίᾳ Βελαντίων πλὴν πολλῶν, ὅτι ἐποβαίνειν καὶ εἶσι τῶν ἐν Ἀγροδικοῖς ὅποισι ἦσαν πλὴν Γενανίαν μοῖραν ἑσπεύοντες Ρωμαίων.*

There are many other things of Antiquity, which I might ſet down concerning the *Brigantes*; as of their Nymph *Verbeia*, and their Topick God *Dui*: but as I ſaid, I will refer the Reader to my other Work which I have inſcribed *BRITANNIÆ ROMANORUM*, where I have at large treated of them.

The other Stations of this Journey are formerly ſufficiently ſpoken of in their places: onely here let me tell you, that *Bro-cavio* would better be *Brovo*, as being abbreviated for *Brovonacis*, which you have in the ſecond Journey.

In the next Journey to this, which is from *London* to *Lindum*, or *Lincoln*, you have the way more contracted a great deal: thus then it is, as you ſee it repreſented to your eyes in what followes.



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. VI.

Editio.

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

ITER A LONDINIO  
LINDUM M. P. CLVI. sic ;

Verolani.  
Durocobrius.

VEROLAMUM M. P. XXI.  
DUROCOBRIUM. M. P. XII.  
MAGIOVINIUM. M. P. XII.  
LACTODORUM. M. P. XVI.

Verolami.  
Duro-Cobrius.

ISANNAVATIA. M. P. XII.  
TRIPONTIUM. M. P. XII.

Ifannavantia. Ifan-  
navaria.

Venonis.  
Ratas.

VENNONIM. M. P. IX.  
RATIS. M. P. XII.

Venonis.  
Ratas.

VEROMETUM. M. P. XIII.

12.

MARGIDUNUM. M. P. XIII.

Margindun. 12.

Ad Pontum.  
Croco-Cal.

AD PONTEM. M. P. VII.  
CROCOCALANUM. M. P. VII.

Crorolana.

LINDUM. M. P. XII.

These five first Stations here, even to \* *Ifannavatia* (which is altogether the same with *Bennavenna*.) you have before explained in the second Journey, but *converso Itinere*, the way lying there backward. Here at *Vennonis* there is a diversion from the publick way, which they call *Watling-street*. See *Talbot* in *VENNONIS*. But whereas in this Journey between *Ifannavatia*, or *Bennavenna*, and *Vennonis*, you see *Tripontium* put between, that indeed is done as *Camden* thinks, *loco non suo*, out of its right place. But see also *Talbot* in *BENNAVENNA*.

ISANNAVATIA. M. P. XII.] Go to *BENNAVENNA*, which seems to be the very same Station or City with it.

TRIPONTIUM. M. P. XII.] *Hierom Surita* shews himself a stranger indeed to our affairs, when he makes but so much as a doubt, whether (a) *Ptolemies* *ἑρμόλιον*, an ancient City of the *Selgovæ* here, had any thing to do in this place. *Camden* supposeth it to be that which now we call *Torcester*: and that he hath remaining for it such arguments, as are not *languide fidei*. For saith he, if *Trimontium* a City of *Thrace* had its name, à *tribus montibus*; if *Triturrita* of *Hetruria*, à *tribus turribus*: if *Tripolis*, à *tribus urbibus*: then this *Tripontium* without doubt is denominated à *tribus pontibus*; as it may plainly be seen also to this day: here may also be seen the *Prætorian*, or Military High-way, which



(b) *Lactoredum* in very many places between this Town and (b) *Stony-Stratford* shews it self. *Marianns Scotus* hath this Towns name written *Tovecester*: and indeed there want not many who would have the Town called so, from the *Tove* running by it.

Age and time have at length so wasted it, that now at length it owes to its situation, name, and antient Coyns, that it is believed that it is old. Of them indeed there have been some good store taken up there.

VENNONIM. M. P. I X. ] This is spoken to in the Second Journey already, to which you may have a recourse:

R A T I S. M. P. XII. ] *Leicester*, called also by antient Writers, and in old Records, *Legracester*, *Legecester*, *Legeocester*, *Legogora* and *Caer-Lerion*, so called, not of that fabulous King *Leir*, whom *Geffrey* of (c) *Monmouth* will have to be the first Builder thereof; but for that it standeth upon the River *Legra*, or *Leir*, now called *Sore*; as (d) *Leland* holdeth, signifying as much as the City standing upon the River *Leir*. Many other Cities and places in this land are so denominated, as *Colchester*, upon the River *Colne*, *Lancaster* upon the River *Lune*, *Riblechester*, upon the River *Rible*. It standeth in the Center and heart of the Shire (as I have said before:) bearing the proportion of an heart, and being in the very midst and heart of the land, as by all Writers, and by the *Topography* thereof, it doth appear, and upon the great Rode-way called the *Foss*, (as *Ranulph Higden* affirmeth) which goeth from the South into the North, which begins at *Totness* in *Devonshire*, and endeth at *Catness* in the utmost part of *Scotland*. It is situated in a most rich, delicate, and pleasant soyl, and a delicious air, and (whether you respect health or wealth, pleasure or profit:) it is in this place afforded. To parallel it with other Cities is not my purpose, but had it a Navigable River, whereby it might have trading and commerce; it might compare with many of no mean rank. For the antiquity thereof, I shall speak what I have either read, or found in the best and most approved Writers. That this was a City in the Britains time before the coming of the Romans, I should conjecture by the name thereof, set down by *Ninnius* in his Catalogue of Cities, viz. *Caer Lerion*: that is, the City upon *Leir*. What the name was in the Romans time, I must assent unto *Master Camden Clarencieux* his opinion, who taketh it to be (e) *Rata*, induced thereunto, first by the situation thereof upon the said great Rode-way, called the *Foss*, the distance from *Bennones*, and *Vernomet*, agreeing so justly with the Emperour *Antonine* in his *Itinerarium*, and a peice of the name yet remaining in that old long Ditch and rampier called *Rudikes*. That this his assertion should stand probable and true, and that this was a great Roman Station, these Roman Antiquities (here found and affirmed

(c) *Ptolemao*  
in *Corinthiis urbs*  
*altera*. *Talbotus*  
ait se vidisse co-  
dicem in quo  
*Rata* haberetur.  
Certe *Petrus*  
*Bertius* ex cod.  
*Palatino*  
*Egrius* men-  
dose omnino edi-  
dit.



med.) will give strength and confirmation. First, the antient Temple here dedicated to *Janus*, which had a *Flamen* or High Priest here resident, in which place great store of bones of beasts (which here have been sacrificed) have been digged up and found and the place yet called thereof, the Holy bones, which all Histories do agree to have been here, and surely was the foundation of the Romans, as appeareth by their God *Janus Bifrons* to whose honour the first Temple was built in *Rome*, by *Romulus* and *Tatius*, or, as others say, *Numa Pompilius*, in a place called *Argiletum*; and not founded by that feigned King *Leir*, to the honour of *Janus*, as *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, and (of later daies) *John Harding* and *John Rous* of *Warwick* will have it; which how fabulous and improbable it is any ordinary capacity may conceive, in that it is known to all, that *Janus* was not adored or thought of ever of any but the *Romans*. And this King *Lier* died (at least three hundred years before *Rome* was built, as by their own Chronology and Computation will appear. But this and many such improbabilities and contradictions, will easily convince this forged History of *Brute*, and of his progeny.

Next the many *Roman* Antiquities here found, their *Medallies* and *Coyns* in great abundance, both in silver and Copper; of *Vespasian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antonine*, and others, which I my self have seen, and have of them. And within these ten years, neer unto the Town, somewhat deep in the ground, was found a piece of Work of stone arched over; the stones very small, about an inch long, and half an inch broad and thick, finely joined together with a thin mortar. It was in length about five or six yards, in breadth about four, the roof covered with a square kind of quarry with small Earthen Pipes therein. This I guess to be a Stouphe or hot-house to bath in, for as *Vitruvius* writeth, the *Romans* growing to the excesse of riotousnesse and excesse, through the abundance of their wealth, used these kinde of Bathes in a wantonness to purge and clarify themselves. All this hitherto hath been transcribed out of the exact Description of *Lestershire*, so far as it conduced to my present drift and *institutum*. We shall also do the like in what followes to the next Station. If we had known that the places about *Lester* had abounded with *Ferne*, we would presently have concluded, that the name *R A T Æ* had been from *R A T I S*; which *Dioscorides* saith in the old *Gallick* Tongue (and so consequently in that of the *Britains*;) signified just as much. The good Readers I hope will excuse this observation, who also know, that lame men, though they be never so much *φιλοθεταί*, yet they cannot conveniently be *αυτεπαυται*. Being bad for any discovery, though never so studious and desirous thereof. Let those tell us here of *Rateford* in *Notttinghamshire*, or *Rutland*, look

Περὶ ὑλῆς τεκεῖς.

Talbot. & qui eum sequuntur.



look well to their Arguments, why they do it.

VEROMETUM M. P. XIII. ] Master *William Burton*, the restorer of his own Country and the antiquities thereof, in his exact description of *Lestershire*. pag. 62.

An antient Roman Fort.

*Burrow*, antiently called *Erdburrow*, standing neer to the confines of *Rutlandshire*. Master *Camden* doth conjecture that this place should be that *Vernometum*, mentioned by *Antonine* the Emperour in his *Itinerarium*, by reason of the true distance between *Rata* and *Vernometum*; And (his words be these) the name of *Burrow* also that it hath at this day, came from *Burgh*, which in the Saxon Tongue signifieth a place fortified, and under it is a Town called *Burrow*, belonging to an old Family of Gentlemen so surnamed. But (that which maketh most for the proof) in that very place there riseth up an Hill, with a steep and upright ascent on every side, but South-eastward; in the top whereof appear the expresse tokens of a Town destroyed, a double Trench, and the very Tract where the Walls went, which inclosed about 18. Acres within, at this day it is arable ground, and in nothing so famous as in this, that the Youths dwelling neer thereto were wont yearly to exercise themselves in wrestlings and other sports in this place. And out of the very name a man may conjecture that there stood some great Temple of the Heathen Gods; for the word *Vernometum* in the old *Gauls* language (which was the same with the old *Britains* tongue) signifieth as much as a great Temple, as *Venantius Fortunatus* in his first book of his Songs doth shew, writing of *Vernometum* a Town of *Gaul* in these verses.

Vide Christophorum Boverum in Notis.

*Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas,  
Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat.*

Of old the place they *Vernomet* did name,  
Which signifies among the *Gauls* a Fane.

In elder times, this place they termed by the name of *Vernomet*, which sounds in the language of the *Gauls* as much as a Temple great. Thus far the diligence, and the great ornament of his Countrey, *William Burton* Esquire of *Linley*; who though now with God, hath left the heir of his vertues, as well as other fortunes, *Cassibbelaun Burton*, Esquire.

MARGIDUNUM. M. P. XIII. ] Where *Lincolnshire* borders upon *Liecestershire*, there stands *Belvior* or *Beauvior* Castle, not far from whence, as our great Antiquary thought, stood the Roman Station *Margidunum* in old time, in a most pleasant and fruitful Soyl. This the distance from *Vernometum* to which it stands next in *Antoninus*, having *Ad Pontem*, or *Panneton*, also at not an unlike remoteness from what is set down there, gives good



good credit unto. From the *Marga*, or *Marle*, and its site upon a rising hill, its seems to have had its denomination. For the later, I have several times taught out of *Plutarch* what *Dunum* signifies, namely a rising place. As for the other word *Marga*, (a) *Pliny* in his Natural History tells us what it is there where he treats *De terra quam Britannia & Gallia amat*. *Alia est ratio*, saith he, *quam Britannia & Gallia invenere, alere eam ipse quod genus vocant Margam*. But *Camden* speaks of little use of *Marle* in those parts: he indeed tells us of a kind of Chalk found neer there; in which perhaps *Pliny* might be mistaken, for his *Marga*: else he thinks it was never well searcht for there. There is found there about also the stone called from its figure *Asegitus*, *Astrotes*, the form of which *Camden* describes, after (b) *Agricola* and others: but Ile meddle not with it, as being nothing to my present design in hand.

τὸν ἐξ ἐχόντα.  
(a) *Plin.* 17.  
cap. 6. *cujus il-  
lud est lemma.*

\* A kinde of  
plaittering  
stuff, gypsum.

(b) *Georg. A-  
gricola Fossili-  
um lib. 6.*

AD PONTUM. M. P. VII. ] That it was that Town of *Lincolnshire*, which on the banks of the River *Wytham* is yet called *Paunton* to this day, our Antiquaries do generally believe. For to say nothing of the distance from the two stations on either hand, which very well agree with that at present, the reason of the name from a Bridge (for the River) according to the report of the Inhabitants was here in old time joined with the Bridge: ) cleerly evinceth the matter in hand: not to say that \* pavements of the Romans of Musive Work are sometimes digged up here. Wherefore *Aldus* his Edition of *Antoninus* may be observed, where ye find it falsly printed, *Ad Pontum*. *Jasias Simlerus* in his *Scholia* upon *Antoninus* would have this Town to have been otherwise called *Pons Ælii*, where sub *Duce* (a) *Britanniarum Tribunis Cohortis I. Cornavorum* kept his Guard: which Station being long before first appointed by *Hadrian* the Emperour, was to be sought far away off, by the *Valium*. Him yet our *Harrison* follows, who hath described unto us *Britain* in English. *William Fulk* would have it to be rather *Boston*, that is, *S. Buttolphes Town* in this same Shire; though the Itinerary account do wholly reclaim, and gainsay it; as being neerer to the Eastern Sea.

\* *Pavimenta  
tessellata. Vide  
Scalig. in Sphæ-  
ram Barbaricam  
M. Maviley pa.  
454. Ald. editio  
Antonini cor-  
recta.*

(a) *Notitia Oc-  
cidental. Impe-  
rii.*

CROCOCALANA. M. P. VII. ] In the diverse readings collected to *Antoninus* there is *Crerolana* set down, which in very deed signifies nothing and might a great deal better have been quite left out. In *Antoninus* that Town is called so; which at this day is *Ancaster*, nothing but a long street upon the Military High-way. At the entrance from the South our Antiquarie saith, he saw a Trench, and it is evident that there was a castle about there. The British or old name may seem to have been taken from the situation; for it lies under the side of an hill; and *Cruc Maur* with the Britains doth signify *magnum collem* or a great Hill; as *Cruc Occhidient* doth a Western Hill, as we are taught



taught by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Ninnius* very antient Writers. But what shall we do then with *Colana*? *Camden* our Antiquary knew not: neither have we time to think of it, as we should: if we truly understood the meaning of *Kolavia* of (a) *Ptolemy* in the North of *Britain*, we should also better know this. In this Town the Roman coyns keep up the Memory of Antiquity therein; besides the vaults under ground, sometimes opened: to say nothing of the site by the *Pratorian Causey* or High-way, and due distance between it and *Lindum* or *Lincoln*. *William Harrison*\* saith *Ancaſter* hath been a great thing, for many square and coloured pavements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and oft laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same, and among these one *Vresby* or *Roseby* a Ploughman did erd up not long since a stone like a trough covered with another stone, wherein was great abundance of the aforesaid Coynes. The like also was seen not fourty years ago about *Grantham*.

(a) *Ptol. Geogr.*  
*lib. 2.*

\* *Harrif. Deſcr.*  
*Britan. lib. 12.*  
*cap. 17.*

LINDUM. M. P. XII. ] *Camden* from the foregoing Station seems to have read the distance to *Lindum* XIV. miles; and that where he speaks of *Ancaſter* where the foregoing Station had its being. Something is said, and perhaps more then enough, concerning this *Lindum* in the former Journey.

*Finis Itineris VI. Britanniarum.*

BRITAN-



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. VII.

Editio

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

ITER A REGNO  
LONDINIUM.

\* CXV.

M. P. XCVI. sic ; \*

\* CXVI. 96.

CLAUSENTUM. M. P. XX.

VENTAM BELGARUM. M. P. X.

Gelleu

CALLEVAM ATREBATUM. M. P. XXII. Gall.

PONTES. M. P. XXII.

LONDINIUM. M. P. XXII.

**T**His seventh Journey is from *Regnum* in *Hantshire* to *London*: *Hierom Surita* speaking of which, confesseth indeed that the *Pŷyoi*, *Regni* were a people of *Britain*, bordering upon the *Atrebatii* and *Cantii*; whose chief City was *Noviomagus*: but that by this *Regnum* it is to be understood, I can by no means hold with him. *Camden* resolves the business very well, where he makes the Midland of this shire to belong to the *Belgæ*, as he doth the more Maritime to the *Regni*. That therefore this *Regnum* belonged in old time to the *Regni*, is most plain; the reliques of the one name still remaining in the other. Our Ancesters called it *Regnewood* or *Ringwood*, it seems for the Store of wood thereabout. In *Doomesday* book it is written *Rincewed*.

CLAUSENTUM. M. P. XX.] Opposite to the Isle of *Wight*, in *Southampton* Port or Haven, called of old by *Ptolemy* (a) *Tri-* (a) *τεσσαρτα-* *santonis fluvii ostium*; from *Traithanton*, as I think, saith our great *Antiquarie*, that is *Æstuarium Anton*. By the same name *ἡς ῥοῆς. Ptol.* almost it is called by *Ninnius Trahannoni ostium*. The river that runs into it at this day called *Test*, in former ages, in the *Saints* lives, is named *Terstan*, and formerly that it was *Ant*, or *Anton*: *Antport*, *Andover*, and *Hanton*, Towns lying thereon, seem in a manner to perswade. So far are we from believing, that it was so named from *Hammon* the *Roman*, whom our *British* History fables to be slain hereabout by *Arviragus*, as do also all such as follow and admire it.

Not far from this *Southampton*, was *Clausentum* here placed, which appears by its distance from *Regnum*, as also on the other

H h

side



(b) Portus effo-  
sa terra extru-  
ctus.

side from *Venta*, or *Winchester*, and as of old time it was called *Antoni Aestuarium*, so *Clausentum* signified in *British* the Port *Estum*; which, as I am told, signifies as much as in *Greek* (b) *Διπλὸν ἕρως* doth mean. They that make any wonder at this let them also look into *Dooms-day-book*, where they shall expressly find *Hantscyre*, and *Hentscyre*; from whence the Town, from the Southernly situation is at this day *Southanton*. It was seated especially where *S. Martha's* fields now are. What rubbish, ruins of Walls, and Trenches *Camden* was shewed there by an old Castle, himself will best tell you. Whether it were the Castle of old time belonging to *Clausentum*, I have not any thing to say: the several Coyns of the Roman Emperours taken up hereabout are sufficient witnesses of its great antiquity. If those ruins which *Camden* speaks of, were not of the old Castle; they were doubtlesly of those muniments, and bulwarks, *quæ Romani in littore Oceani ad meridianam plagam*, as *Gildas* hath it: *ad reprimendas piraticas Saxonum depredationes collocarunt*.

Ptol. Geograph.  
lib. 2.

VENTA BELGARUM. M.P. X.] There were three Towns in Britain of this name *Venta*, all mentioned by *Antoninus*, and this by *Ptolemy* also. *Venta Icenorum* is in (a) *Ptolemy* too; were but his Copies rightly published. The common books have *Σικενοί*, for *Iceni*: but the Palatine set forth by *Petrus Bertius*, neerer the truth, *Ἰκενοί*. *Caer-Guent* it was called by the Britains: which *Leland* makes to signify *White*, as if he would say, The White City: of which there wants not examples: and this stands in a whitish or chalkish soil, as do the rest they say elsewhere that are of that name too.

After the Christian time, from this *Venta* in the most antient Monks we find the Bishop of *Winchester* called *Episcopus Ventanus* or *Wentanus*, as *Beda*, *Malmesburionsis*, *Eadmerus*, and others: only the less experienced must take heed when he meets with this word (c) *Venlanus* misprinted for it, as he shall sometimes.

(c) *Vi apud*  
*Malmsb. de Gest.*  
*Pontif. lib. 1.*

pag. 117.

(b) *Edit. Lond.*  
& alibi.

(d) *Ita enim*  
*dictus Casaubon.*

ἡ τοῦ νομάρχου  
ἀντιπρόεδρος in  
*Sueton.*

(e) *Comment.*  
*in Notit. Provin.*  
*cap. 38.*

(f) *Comm. de*  
*Republic. Roma-*  
*na.*

A City no doubt it was of very great request in the Romans time, which we learn from the *Notitia* of the Western Empire, for here was resident in this place the *Procurator Gynacii Britannis*, (not *Dremensis*, or *Biennensis*: but as it should be: ) *Ventensis*. So the (d) flour of French Lawyers *Jiques Cujas* reads it *Gynacium*, and interprets it to mean the *Sacrum Textrinum*. *Guidus* (e) *Pancirolus*, who set forth the *Notitia* is of no other opinion, who writes that these *Gynacia* were first appointed *texendis Principis militumque vestibis, naviumque velis, stragulis lintheis & aliis ad instruendas mansiones necessariis*.

Yet (f) *Wolfgangus Lazius*, a learned German in his time, thought that these *Procurators* also were employed in taking care, and making provision for the Emperours dogs: for the British dogs carried away the Bell in those dayes from those of any other nation in Europe. *Strabo* gives us good cause to say so, for they have his com-



commendation for hunting; being said by him to be, *Euphros*  
*πρὸς τὴν κυνηγεσίαν.* Hence it is that the Shepherd saies in (g) *Nemese-* (g) *Nemese. in*  
*stan* under *Caius* the Emperour. *Eclogis.*

————— *Divisa Britannia mittit.*  
*Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.*

————— Great Britain breeds fair hounds,  
 Whose sents are fit to hunt upon our grounds.

Meaning our British Dogs. Of which long before him it is  
 worth the while to peruse an excellent trim Poem, written in  
*Augustus* age by *Gratius Faliscus*, who intitles it *Cunegeticon*, pub-  
 lished of late years by an excellently learned Gentleman; and  
 accordingly it is set forth in *Latin* by him, and translated also  
 into English.

*Quid freta si Morinum, dubio resfluenti, Põnte,  
 Veneris, atque ipsos libeat (h) penetrare Britannos?  
 O quanta est merces, & quantum impendia supra,  
 Si non ad speciem mentitur osque decores:  
 Protinus, hæc una est catulis jactura Britannis:  
 Ad magnum cum venit opus, promendaque virtus,  
 Et vocat extremo præceps discrimine Mavors,  
 Non tunc egregios tantum admirere Molossos;  
 Comparat his versuta suas Athamania fraudes,  
 Acyrusque, Pheræque, & clandestinus Acarnan.  
 Sicut Acarnanes subierunt prælia furto:  
 Sic canis illa suos taciturna supervenit hostes.*

(h) *Hæc vox ex  
 hoc loco mutuata  
 videtur à Velleio  
 Paterculo Hist.  
 lib. 2. ubi ait  
 Britanniam  
 à Caesar. bis pe-  
 netratam.*

Wouldst thou *Morinum* seek? and thee 'twould please  
 Britain to enter through uncertain Seas.  
 What profit there, what benefit would rise?  
 Would thou not choose for beauty and for size?  
 Both which they want; yet this the Britains boast,  
 In greatest need their dogs shew valor most;  
 And will his life forsake ere he retire,  
 Not then *Mollosian* hounds thou wilt admire,  
 Sly *Athaman* Dogs, with Mastives not compare,  
*Acgran*, *Pheran*, nor the close *Acare*  
 As th' *Acarnans* steal in to battel, so  
 This breed with silence sets upon their Foe.

This is that *Gratius*, whom *Ovid* his Co-temporary thought  
 worthy to commend to Posterity, and prolong his fame in that  
 (i) verse:

(i) *Ovid. de  
 Ponto lib. 4.  
 Eleg. 16.*



*Aptaque venanti Gratius arma dabit.*

*Gratius* for Hunting will accommodate.

Divers others have highly commended our Britain Dogs; particularly the *Agasæus*, or base Hound, was had in great esteem, thus described by *Oppian* in his *κυνηγικὰ*:

(k) *Oppian.*  
*Κυνηγ. lib. a.*

(k) Ἔστι δὲ πικυλάκων γένος ἄλκιμον ἰχνυτήρων,  
βαδὼν ἀτὰρ μεγάλης ἀνίστατον ἑμμελὲς αἰοδῆς,  
τὲς πρῶτον ἀρχία φύλα Βρεταννῶν αἰολονότων,  
Ἄντ' ὅππληδ' ὧς Ἀγασαίου δόμῳ μένων  
τῶν ἥτοι μέγ' ὅμοιόν ἐστι δαυοῖσι.  
Αἰχμοῖς, δ' ἐκιδίσι, τραπέζῃσι κύνεσσιν

This kind though short, are for quick scent renown'd  
Fit for a learned Poet to resound;  
The painted Britain people fierce in Armes,  
These Beagles breed and *Agasæan* termes:  
Th' are small, want beauty, have no comely mark,  
That thou wouldst think th' are onely fit to bark.

(l) *Andr.*  
*Schottus Obser-*  
*vat. Human. lib.*  
*2. cap. 19.*

Which Verses being part of them, which the (l) Emperour so highly prized, *Joannes Bodinus* hath done thus into Latine; but he had for his paines, I feare, scarce so great a reward.

\* *Lege carmine*  
*ita enim Gr. po-*  
*stulare videtur.*

*Est etiam catubi species indagine clara,*  
*Corpus huic breve; magnifico sed \* corpore digna.*  
*Picta Britannorum gens illos effera bello*  
*Nutrit, Agasæosque vocat, vilestima forma*  
*Corporis, ut credas parasitos esse latrantes.*

(m) *Adi Har-*  
*rison. descript.*  
*Britan. lib. 3.*  
*cap. 13.*

It should seem then, that the little Beagle is appropriated to our Britain; for that the *Canis* in *Agasæus* in *Oppian* is so meant, *Janus Ulitius*, who published *Gratius* beyond the Sea, hath shewn to us against *John Caius*, who some age ago set forth a book *De canibus Britannicis*. The old gallant Poet (n) *Claudian* lets not our Mastives pass unspoken of in that Verse:

(n) *Claudian.*  
*Paneg. in Stili-*  
*conem lib. 3.*

*Magnaue taurorum fractura colla Britanæ.*

(o) *Symmach.*  
*lib. 2. Epist. 81.*  
*verum tu, le-*  
*stor, adi omnino*  
*P. Cl. Iustum*  
*Lipsum Centur.*  
*1. ad Belgas Ep.*  
*44.*

Britain breeds Dogs can break the Neck of Bulls.

Neither were they others then our Mastives, which are mentioned by *Symmachus* in his (o) Epistles; although they be tearmed by him *Canes Scotici*, which he makes his brag of at Rome, and



and which he sayes were shewed at the *Circensian* Games, to the great wonder of the people that looked upon them ; who could not think them brought thither otherwise, then in Iron Cages.

In this City, as our own Historians relate, was that Monk *Constans* in the Roman time, whom his Father *Constantinus*, who had put on the Purple against *Honorius*, out of a meer conceit and confidence of his own name, had designed first to be *Cæsar*, and afterward *Augustus* : For, for a good while before this, as *Zosimus* hath it, speaking of that very time the Monks had frequent Colledges, as well in Cities as Country Towns, who lived before lurking up and down, and haunted Mountains, Woods, and solitary places forlorn, whence also they had their name. Now those ancient remainders of Walls which are yet to be seen of such a thickness, and lastingness, at the Western-door of the Cathedrall, seem to have been the ruines of that Colledge. As for that *Cæsarean* Monk brought out hence, he soon by death satisfied for his Fathers ambition, and slighted Religion.

Here many will tell you of King *Arthurs* round Table ; but our Antiquary finds it to be of a far lower age : not but that he acknowledges the use of such Tables among the Ancients for avoiding broyles, and fallings out among them. And this he might well do upon the Testimony of (p) *Athenæus* : for out of him you may learn that the ancient Gauls, and so consequently the old Britains, for they promiscuously used the same *Instituta* as well as *sacra* did sit about circular or round Tables, and that as Esquires, or Armour-bearers waited on them behind their backs, bearing their Shields by them.

(p) *Athenæi  
Dipnosophist.  
lib. 4.*

The Ecclesiasticall antiquity of this City belonging especially to the Saxon time, is beside my purpose, and so as he said, *Blaudius est nostrum opus*. Yet having long ago transcribed from the Walls of *Estiar* House, sometimes belonging to the Bishops of the Sea ; a Catalogue of their names as they were set up a long time since, by the Curtesie of my very good Friend Mr. *George Price*, whose House now it is, himself being then Sheriff of the County of *Surrey*. Take this therefore instead of a great deale more, which I could say, but that my present designe and project excuseth me, and bids me have done with the Roman Age.

*Birinus*



Birinus.	Eadunus.	Athelwod.	Wodlock.
Agilbert.	Helstan.	Alsinus.	Sandal.
Wyn.	Swithun.	Avin.	Afferio.
Elutherius.	Eathferd.	Stigandus.	Stratford.
Hedda.	Tumbert.	Walkelinus.	Orlton.
Daniel.	Denwolph.	Giffard.	Edynton.
Humfrid.	Frithelsta.	Blesensis.	Manners makes man.
Kinhard.	Brinstan.	Tokelin.	
Athelhard.	Alfreth.	Lucy.	
Egbald.	Alphegus.	P. de Rupibus.	Which was the Motto of Wil- liam of Wick- ham, the Bi- shop at that time.
Dud.	Brithelin.	Raly.	
Himbrith.	Athelwold.	Adomarus.	
Ealmond.	Alfreth.	Gervais.	
Widregyn.	Kenulph.	Ely.	
Herferd.		Pontissara.	

I had quite done with *Winchester*, as with the Bishops thereof, in whose Catalogue I observed some difference from others published, with the addition of the *Insignia gentilitia* of some more noted Families: but that the misplacing of *Venta Belgarum* by some of our Antiquaries, according as my manner is first to be taken notice of: Bishop Cooper therefore is much over-seen, who deceived by *Joannes Balæus*, or *Leland* himself, it matters not much, sets down for it *Bristol* the City, vvhich is of much later antiquity, and hath given occasion to others to erre: among whom, *Pitsens* is one, in case he drew not his mistake from *Balæus* selfe, which is most like: as for the Continuer of *Thuanus* his History I know not well what to say; in whom also we as falsly read

(a) Eundem errorem deprehendimus quoque in *Iulii Caesaris* *Bulengeri* *Historia* sui temporis; sitanti est hic annotasse.

(b) Hier. Suri-  
sa teste.

(c) D. Ambros.  
V. Sermon. in Psal.  
118.

(a) *Burgstovia*, for the ordinary name of *Bristol*.

CALLEVA ATREBATUM. M.P. XXII.] This was a principall City of *Britain*, when the Romans were Lords of all here, mention of it is made in this Itinerary at least four times; first in this seventh Journey from *Regnum* to *Londinium*, where in *Longolius* his book it was called *Galleua*, or *Gallena*: (b) At *Rebatum* rather, from the people it stood amongst: Then in a double Journey, yet in both through distinct Mansions, or Stations, from *Isca*. Leg. II. Aug. or *Caer-legion* upon *Usk*, unto it, whence it is manifest that it was a City; such as Saint (c) *Ambrose* calls *Regales Urbes*; ad quas cum perventum est, fessis exerciti-  
bus requies ministratur. Lastly, in the last Journey here from the same *Calleua* to the other *Isca Dumnoniorum*, or *Ex-cesster*. The *Ατρεβάτοι*, are indeed in *Abion*, or *Britain*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and others, named *Altrebates* here, whose City is corruptly in the later Greek books, named *Ναλκῆα*, and so in the Translations thence: for in the ancient Latine Interpreter, it is turned *Calle-  
va*; certainly in the Palatine book it was written *Καλκῆα*, by the  
testimony



testimony of *Petrus Bertius*: herein truly the *vestigia* of the old reading do more appear. *Joannes Balæus*, who after *Leland* seemed especially to have illustrated the matters of *Britain*, acknowledges the reading in *Antoninus*, yet retains *Callena*, in *Ptolemy*, and deriveth the name from that *Olenus Calenus*, whom (d) *Pliny* calls *Hetruria celeberrimum vatem*. *Istum in Britanniam*, saith *Balæus*, *venisse quidem ferunt, & de suo cognomine urbem condidisse Calenam, quæ nunc Oxonia dicitur, antiquo nomine mutato*. He cites moreover his good friend *Conrad Gesner* about this very matter, in whom he had read in his *Onomasticon*: *Calena apud Ptolemaum civitas, in Anglia esse creditur, quæ nunc Oxonia appellatur*. *Gesner* therein indeed seems to have followed *Sir Thomas Eliot* in his *Bibliotheca* or *Dictionary*, who had said that *Callena* was *Oxford*: which thing troubled *John Caius* the Antiquary of *Cambridge*, that some of *Oxford* had before his time published so much in *Lexicis* (he besides this *Sir Thomas Eliot*, & specially means *Thomas Cooper*, at that time Dean of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, who had enlarged and published the others *Bibliotheca*;) (e) *Quo puerorum animis id altius insidat, & in ipsa viscera & medullas juventutis imbibatur, Calenam Oxoniam esse cum*, as he saies, *Lelando auctore, Wallingfordiam, non Oxoniam Calena significet*. What \* *Balæus* hath concerning *Olenus Calenus*, is to be reckoned amongst the *ἀνὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ φημιναίαν μανερὶ*. Yet (f) *Joannes Pitseus* treading in his steps, who not content with him, to deliver a matter from the uncertain report of men, namely that *Calena* was built by this *Olenus*: lest he might seem to have said but little, he adds of his own, that he quite finished it, and that this place was known by the name of *Calena*, till the entrance of the *Anglo-Saxons*. But this to me is very wondrous, that he would not dissent from *Balæus*, which he seems otherwise upon all occasions willing to do, even when especially he borrows what he saies well out of him: so great was his despite against him, meerly because he was *Sacerdos Muritatus*, which forsooth he cannot name without a *Sa-Reverence*: yet the sagacious man might with as easie a conjecture have deduced it from *Julius Calenus* the *Æduan*, who is spoken of by (g) *Tacitus*; or from the City called *Cale* in *France*, which *Salust* saies was taken by *Perpenna*; and is perhaps mentioned since by our (h) *Beda*. For I pray you what had the *Britains* to do with the *Hetrurian Wizards*? who yet alwaies had a very great cognation with the *Galls*, not only in language, but in holy Rites and Customs also: which we could easily make appear, were there but occasion. But sure this quaint Lawyer, as fine a man as they thought him at *Doway*, was mistaken much, if he expected a reward for this rare piece of Antiquity from the *Oxford* men, who well enough knew how much Gold differed from any forged stuff. Thinking of this their neer relation, there came a place

(d) *Plin. nat. Hist. lib. 28.*

(e) *Io. Caius de Antiq. Acad. Cantabr. lib. 2.*

\* *De script. Brit. centur. 10. Tit. III. de Oleno Caleno.*

(f) *Io. Pitseus de Acad. Oxon. cap. 1.*

(g) *Tacit. Hist. lib. III.*

(h) *Eccles. Hist. lib. III. cap. 8.*



place of *Cæsars* into my mind, which because I let slip to the *Belge* in the last station, I will by no means let it pass in this to the *Atrebates*. (i) *Maritima pars ab iis incolitur qui præda, ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgeo transferant, qui omnes scire iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, & bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cæperunt.* Which truly is plainly seen in so many people, and Towns of *Gaul*, as well as *Britain* of the same name; as the *Parisi*, *Condate*, *Cæsaromagus*, *Noviomagus*, *Brige*, *Pontes*, *Mediolanum*, and others; to be found in *Ptolemy* and *Antoninus* too. But let us seek farther for the true site of *Gallena*. (k) Sir *John Price*, a noble Gentleman, and an earnest Defender of his Countrey antiquity, thinks indeed that *Caleva Atrebatum* was *Oxford*, aut aliud circitur eo loci oppidum fuisse; the which thing because he affirms but very faintly, let us therefore hear his Countrey man, (l) *Humfrey Lhuyd*, who writes that *Wallingford*, eleven miles distant from *Oxford*, doth possess that place, whereon of old *Galeva* sometimes stood. Neque enim illis astipulari possum, saies he, qui *Oxoniam ad Septentrionalem Tamesis ripam Calevam faciunt.* *Alexander Nevil*, and *Camden* himself follows him: for neither could the *Itineraria ratio* stand otherwise good. He teacheth us also, that in *Antoninus* of old it was written *Gallena*, from *Gual-Hen*, which signified in *British* as much as *Antiquum Vallum*. Since the change of *G.* into *C.* was easie, they being *sororia littera*, as they say, that is *Sister-Letters*. Hence by our Fore-fathers, the word *Ford*, by reason of the vadosity of the River there, being added, was made *Gualलगपो* and *Wallलगपो*: now more contractedly among us *Wallingford*. But why do we not hear himself: I will give you his own words: *Manibus olim obvallatum erat, quæ, ut ex eorum tractu videre est, mille passus ambitu collegerunt. Castrum ad flumen sedet amplum sane, & quondam adeo munitum, ut inexsuperabilis munimenti spes quosdam ferociores fecerit. Amplitudinem ejus & magnificentiam cum illic Oxonia pueri secederemus, demirahamur: duplici murorum ambitu, duplici item vallo circumdatur. Incola constructum à Danis credunt; ego potius à Romanis aliquid hic positum, à Saxonibus postea & Davis excisum judicari.* *Guil. Gemeticensis* calls it *urbem*, where he tells how *William* the *Norman*, having conquered *Harold*, led his army thereunto. Our great Antiquary produces a silver coyn, whence some lustre may perhaps accrue unto this place:

He





He imagines therein, that that CALLE doth come neerest to the name of Callena, or Gallena, as he reads it, the frequented and famous station of old time. But that REX may be referred to Comius, whom (m) Cæsar had made King over the Atrebates in Gallia, of whom, as it is said, ours were deduced, & cum Legatis civitatum Britannorum, quod sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, in Eritanniam præmiserat, cujusque auctoritatem in his regionibus [Britannia sc.] magnam habitam, himself writeth. I know that Speed will have Galgacus a Prince of the Caledonians in (n) Tacitus understood: but then you will say it was not Clerkly done, in such a piece as this, to produce a short syllable by position against all (o) authority: as for Pitsens who talks of Calena built in King Arviragus daies, we weigh him not; when he can better inform us concerning his reign, we will heed him.

At Sinodun hill, not far from Gallena, its certain, there was a fortress of the Romans; for they take up coyn there very often.

PONTES. M. P. XXII.] A few miles from Eaton, the River Cole runs into the Thames, parting Buckinghamshire and Middlesex at Colebrook, where it bestowes the name upon it; which that it was Antoninus his Pontes, the distance on both sides from Wallenford and London, do perswade. Neither is there any place in that Rode, which may more conveniently suite to this name: for Cole here is parted into four Channels, laid over with so many bridges, for the convenience of travelling: we need not instance about the same business in (p) Gephyrae of Æotia, or Pontes in France, in the County of Ponthieu: the matter is not hard to conclude. I am not ignorant that (q) many seek Pontes at Reading: but besides that the distance here will not so well fit, I do no more believe them, then I do admire their skill in Greek, who deduce Reading it self from *ῥέω* to flow.

LONDINIUM. M. P. XXII.] They who know at this day the count of miles between London and Colebrook to be but fifteen miles, will sure wonder at this number here XXII. In the mean while never thinking of the shortness of the antient Italick miles: so that it seems the kind Citizens of London, when good men! they carried their wives abroad into the Countrey to air them, gave not first occasion to observe that the miles about London were not so long as elsewhere.

Finis Itineris 7.

(m) De bellis Gallico lib. IV. Vide etiam nummum, quem adduximus ad Cæsa em in BRITANNIS ROMAN.

(n) Tacit. in vita Agricola.

(o) Lucani & aliorum, Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britan-nos, &c.

(p) Γέφυρα Vrbs Syria. apud Ptol. lib. V. Geograph.

(q) I. Stow Notit. Lond. Lhuyd, Nevil, Harrison, aliique.



## BRITANNIARUM.

## ITER. IIX.

Editio.

Aldina.

Surlitana.

Simleriana.

Eburaco.

ITER AB EBORACO  
LONDINIUM.  
M.P.CCXXVII sic;

Ebur.

LAGECIUM. M. P. XXI.

DANUM. M. P. XVI.

AGELOCUM. M. P. XXI.

LINDUM. M. P. XIV.

CROCOCALANUM. M. P. XIV.

Corocalana.

\* Deest in Ald. Cod. }  
hæc mansio. }

Vernametto

\* MARGIDUNUM. M. P. XIV.

VERNEMETUM. M. P. XII.

RATIS. M. P. XII.

VENNONIM. M. P. XII.

BANNAVANTUM. M. P. XVIII.

XIX.

Magio-Vin.

MAGIOVINUM. M. P. XXVIII. Magio-Vin.

DUROCOBRIVIM. M. P. XII. Durocobrius.

VEROLAMUM. M. P. XII.

LONDINIUM. M. P. XXI.

**T**His Eight Journey is from *Eburacum* to *London*, not indeed altogether by the same Stations, until you come to *Vennonis*, by which you see it expressed in the second. For there indeed the Author of the Itinerary wheels about, and takes a circuit, according as the occasions of the Legat or Proprætor, or whoever the chief Magistrate was then in command, seemed at that time to require: but here he follows the shorter cut of waies, beginning his journey with *Lagecium*; which Town in the fifth Journey is called by him *Legeolium*, and is just at the same distance, from *York*, that is XXI. M. P. Thence to *Danum*, and *Agelocum*, which also in the fifth Journey is called *Sege-locum*, which is distant too from *Danum* twenty one miles, just as we see it here set down. The other mansions of this Journey you have explained in the fifth and sixth Journeys, as far as *Vennonis*, as I said, where the Foss a publick rode crosseth the *Watling-street*, by which turn this way goes strait to *London* as you



you see in what follows; only passing by two Mansions unnamed (it should seem for speed and haste sake, *Eaforodo* and *Sul-loniaci*: ) but the account of the numbers of miles being kept intire, as in that other.

MARGIDUNUM. M. P. XIV.] This Station is quite wanting here in the printed Edition of *Aldus*; as also in some Copies which *Jerom Surita* made use of: for that somewhere *Margitudis* is put in by him, out of others, in what goes before, it is just as much as nothing: and so much seemed requisite to be said concerning the Eighth Journey; but that here also is *Bannavantum*, or *Bennaventum*; for what was before *Bennavenna*, and *Isannavatio*.

BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. IX.

Editio.

*Aldina.*

*Suritana.*

*Simleriana.*

\* *Icinorum.*

ITER A VENTA \* ICENORUM LONDINIUM.  
M. P. CXXVIII. sic;

*Icin.*

XXXI.

*Combret.*

SITOMAGUM. M. P. XXXII.

XXXI.

CAMBRETOVIUM. M. P. XXII.

*Comb.*

AD ANSAM. M. P. XV.

*Camolodun.*

CAMULODUNUM. M. P. VI.

*Camolod.*

CANONIUM. M. P. IX.

CÆSAROMAGUM. M. P. XII.

DUROLITUM. M. P. XVI.

LONDINIUM. M. P. XV.

This Journey is from *Venta Icenorum* or *Caster*, to *London*, some three miles distant from *Normich*; which place was so named from the *Castra*, or *Camps*, of the Romans sometimes



(a) Io. Caius  
Antiq. Cantabr.  
lib. 1.

times hereabouts; and not as the Cambridge (a) Antiquary writes from *Castor* a King here placed by *Julius Cæsar*. In *Surita's MSS.* and those Printed Copies of *Antoninus*, which we use, it is read *Icinorum*: yet he following *Tacitus*, rather, and others, mends *Ptolemy*, making *Σικενοι* to be *Ἰκενοι*. For it seems not likely to him, that *Ptolemy* who wrote down the severall names of the Countrys, Cities, Rivers, Ports, Promontories, &c. throughout all *Britain*, should leave out so powerfull a people, as the *Ice-*

(b) Tac. Annal.  
lib. 12.

*ni* are said to be. *Tacitus*: (b) *Quod primi Icenii abnuere, valida gens nec præliis concussa, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant.* And a little after; *Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi, qui bellum inter & pacem dubitabant.* As they are corruptly called

(c) Raymond.  
Marlian. explic.  
locorum. Cæsar.  
& Tacit.

in *Ptolemy Simeni*, so were they also (c) *Tigeni* in *Tacitus* his old Copies, to borrow his words elsewhere, *pacem exuebant magis nostra avaritia, quam obsequi impatientes*, as plainly he shewes in his relation concerning them: of later Writers see by all means *Camden*. *Surita*, for better distinction sake, calls the station here *Secunda Venta Ptolemæi*. I might very well let passe their high flown fancy (d) who would have the King *Cynobellinus*, mentioned by *Dio Cassius*, to be as much as the *Bellinus* of the *Icenians*. This station hath not so much in *Ptolemy* lost the right name of the people, among whom it stood, as it self too; for they say, nothing thereof remains now, besides a few decayed Walls which enclose some thirty acres that shewes the ground there, sometime inhabited, and some Roman Coyn now and then taken up: else there is nothing remaining.

(d) Apud  
Camdenum.

(e) D. Alex. Nev.  
villus.

(f) Γαργυριον  
Ptol.

But out of the ruines thereof in after times, there arose *Norwich*, a City whose antiquity the learned (e) Author of *Kets History* hath most learnedly and elegantly in *Latin* set down. It stands neer the confluents of (f) *Garienis*, and another River, which they call *Bariden*, *Norwicus* signifies as much as *Aquilonare Castellum*, seu *vicus*. *Wic enim*, *Alfrico Saxone teste*, *Castellum sonat*; as *Camden* observes. To say that *Julius Cæsar* was founder thereof, were to say with the Many, which renders it much suspected. As is also the tradition of some (g) outlandish men very false, who think to find something of *Norwicus* in the name of the *Ἰκενίαι*, a people of *Britain* in *Ptolemy*, far enough diffite hence. Yet of the name *Venta*, there are plain *vestigia* to be seen in the neer River *Wentsum*, or *Wentfar*; as some doe call it.

(g) Polyd. Vergilii  
Itali. Angeli  
Capelli Gal.

**SITOMAGUS. M.P. XXXII.]** With this Station this journey goes on here. The name whereof is corruptly set forth in *Peutingers Military Tables* *SIMOMAGUS*, and sometime *SINOMAGUS*: but here in *Antoninus* it is right *SITOMAGUS*. From the *Saxon* times it was called *Thetford*, from the little River *Thet*; and the *Ford* there; besides the old *British* or *Gallick* word



word (h) *Magus* a dwelling, or house; as you would say, The mansion by the *Thet*. *Thet* and *fit*, they say come very neer. (h) Vid. NOVI-OM. AGVS; & illic Plin. locum. *Olim frequens & celebrata*, this Station was saith our great Anti-quary, & *præter alia vetustatis indicia, molem ostendit in magnam altitudinem aggestam, duplicique vallo munitam & mœnibus, ut fe-runt, olim firmatam, quam Romanorum fuisse opus credunt nonnulli, vel potius Saxoniorum Regum, ut volent alii.*

CAMBRETOVIUM. M.P. XXII.] So many copies have it, but amisse: There is a small Town in *Suffolk*, not far from the Source of the *Breton*, lying low in a bottome. This of old was *Combretonium*, as if you should have said, The Valley, or bottom, by *Breton*. This sometimes it was: Now scarce any thing appeares left else, to say that ever it was. In the room thereof you have in *Peutingers* Military Tables, which the no-ble *Mark Velfer* set forth, but corruptly (for how could it be o-therwise after so long time, and so ungain Transcribers?) *Com-vetronum*, and *Ad Coverin*. Comb, quid Antiquis signifi- caret.

AD ANSAM. M.P. XV.] But you shall find, that it is six miles from *Camulodunum*, the Colony. In *Camden*, our excel-lent diligent Antiquary, it is thought to be a *Terminus* of this Colony, grounding his conceit upon the authority of *Seculus Elarcus*; (for so his name is to be written, not *Siculus*) and him you have published in the Volume of Writers, *De limitibus A-grorum, Agri*, saith he, *Coloniis adjacentes variis Terminis defini-ebantur: in limitibus constitutæ erant pro Terminis res aliæ atque a-liæ, alibi Hermulæ, alibi spatulæ, alibi rhombi, & alibi, secundum vitalem & Arcadium, Termini erant Lagenares, vel Orculares, id est, Lagenæ, & Orculæ.* Upon which words that learned man thus infers: *Cur igitur, non & Ansa terminale signum fuerit, vel diversorium aliquod ad Viam sub ejusmodi intersignio, Cum ad An-sam, non Ansa, suo more dixerit Antoninus: Nec alia quam signa terminalia, vel diversoria, erant, quæ eadem loquendi formula Ro-mano saculo nominabantur.* Which we may truly beleive to be said by him, if we understand it concerning the Mutations on-ly, appointed in latter ages through the Provinces in publick Roads, and were called by the Greeks *ἀνάγαι*, and *ἀνάγια*, fur-nished with beasts for publique carriage, as also with their meat and provender; but not with other accomodations, and therefore (i) distinguished from Mansions. For otherwise pla-ces in the very City were expressed in this form of speaking. *Sue-* (i) Cod. Theod. XI. Tit. 1. c. 9. *tonius Domitianus natus est, regione Urbis sexta, Ad Malum Puni-cum domo, quam postea in Templum gentis Flavia convertit.* *P. Vi-* P. Victor. de Re-gionibus urbis. *tor* also mentions it in the same Region of the City, and names it the House of *Domitian*, where also he places (k) *Ad Gallinas* (k) Sueton. in Galba. *Albas.* The name of this house was taken from the *Vientan* Countrey-dwelling of the *Cæsars*, which was called *Ad Gallinas*, from the brood of Chickens of that white Hen, which an Ea-  
gle



(l) *Æl. Lamprid. in Alexandro.*

gle flying over let fall into *Livias Lap.* (l) *Lampridius: Romæ in palatio fecit dietas nominis Mammæ, quas imperitum vulgus Ad Mammam vocant.* *Servius the Enarrator of Virgil: Porticum Augustus fecerat, in qua simulacra omnium gentium conlocaverat, quæ porticus appellatur Ad Nationes.* Certainly before the age *Suetonius* lived in, we observe not any such Notations of the names of places:

*Robert Talbot, Prebend of Norwich,* who in our Fore-fathers dayes writ Annotations upon this Itinerary, thought this *AD ANSAM* to be *Catwad-Bridge*, in the Borders of *Suffolk*, where *Stour* the River dividing *Essex*, making a little Island: which yet we know onely by the Testimony of *William Fulk*, whose later Interpretations of the old Cities of *Britain*, we owe to the singular humanity of that incomparable man, *James Usher*, sometime Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*: for in two Copies which I have my selfe hapned to see of *Talbot's* Book, no such matter appears to be seen. Then there is a greater *diverticulum*, and farther distance from *Camulodunum*, then that the Compendium of this Journey can any way suffer it.

(m) *Vide ex Notitia Provinc. OTHONA.*

In *William Camden* in the Appendix of his great Work, we see (m) *Ithamcester* put for this place: yet after second cares, he thinks it was some place neer about *Cogges-hall*, out of whose ruines it might seem to have had birth and increase. Truly the distance may seem to perswade it: for that the Romans sometimes possessed these parts, an Hypogæum or Grot, with arched work opened not long since, by the Roadside, is sufficient argument. There was a Lamp yet burning still in a glasse Viall, covered with a Roman Tile, whose Diameter was fourteen inches. There were also some Urnes, or Crocks, which contained in them ashes and bones. Amongst them, there was one of a polite and most fine substance, resembling rather Corall, then red earth, and had the Cover thereof inscribed *COCCILLIM*. Perhaps for *COCCILLI.M.* That is *Cocilli Manibus.* (n) *John Weever* indeed, no unlearned Antiquary, saith, That his conjecture was, that this was the monument of some Governour, who in *Antoninus Pius* his dayes held these places under his command, that he writes the more confidently, because there were found many of his coynes, advising us moreover more seriously to observe the great affinity or neernesse of both these names, *Cocilli*, and *Cogges-hall*; as which had in them *ἑτερίαις πλεονασίας*, to borrow *Strabo's* words, no small force of perswasion: so that from this *Cocillus* the old Town may seem to have received its name, remainders of which seem visibly to continue yet in the present one even at this day.

(n) *In his Funerall Monuments.*

*Meric Casaubon* *Is. F.* in his most learned Notes upon *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor his (o) Books, that *Sireno-Phœnix* of better Philosophy, procured it to be set forth in this manner.

(o) *Lib. E. ἐξ αὐτῶν.*

Sometimes





Sometimes it was my conjecture, that for *Ad Ansam* we were to read *Ad Arcam*. Now this *Arca* was a Monument also; such as they set up in the borders of fields, and observed them for *Termini*, or *Limets*. These *Arcae finiles* were *ut plurimum sepulchrales*, and served to inter the dead; sometime they were only placed *ad finiendo agros*, that is, to limit mens ground. Hence it is that we read in an old *Glossarii*: *Arcae*, ἀρχαὶ κλημάτων. More may be seen in (p) *Frontinus*, and the other *Agrimensores*, or Surveyors of Land. That *Ara* were antiently in *Varro*, called (q) *Ansa*, *quod esset necessarium à sacrificantibus eas teneri*, might perhaps have been let alone unobserved here.

(p) *Frontin. de  
liquo de limitibus  
Agrorum.*  
(q) *Macrob. Sa-  
turn. lib. 3. cap.  
II.*

CAMULODUNUM. M. P. VI. ] before fifteen hundred years this was a noble Town of *Britain* among the *Trinobantes*. There make mention of it besides an antient stone, whose Inscription (*unus primus* first published, antient Coyns, and Authors too, *Plinie*, *Tacitus*, *Dio Cassius*, *Antoninus*, and *Ptolemaeus*. But there is no small difference about the writing of the name; while some will have the second syllable written by the first vowel by \* A. following especially the stone and sometime too the Coyns: and yet he seems willing to deduct the name from a peculiar Deity, or *Indigena* among them, which *Camden* saies he durst not suspect. But if as he saith *Mars* were worshipped by them under the name of *Camulus*, then may the deduction hold good, and *Camulodunum* be interpreted, The hill of *Mars*; so that there will be the same reason of name, which was of the *Areopagus* at *Athens*. The Inscription runs thus: CAMULO SANC. FOR TISS. SAC, and the habit thereof is martial; the name remaining in *Casar* in that of the famous and antient *Gaul*, *Camulogenus Aulercus*.

\* *Plin Nat. Hist.  
lib. 2. cap. 75.*

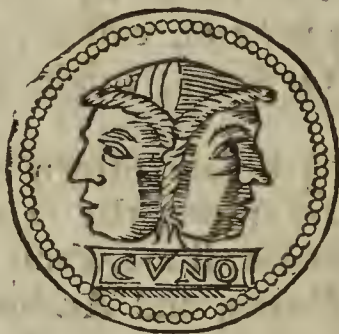
*Ptolem* hath its name much corrupted by the strange transposition



position of Letters, καμουδολανον, *Camudolanum* among the Τριναυτες, for so he calls the *Trinobantes* in *Tacitus*: This need seem strange to no body, seing that not only in him, but in many other antient Authors, the like trajections do frequently happen. For I could produce many such luxations of whole verses, and periods, out of *Virgil*, *Manilius*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, and others, observed by learned men, if I had a minde to it. However, we will not say that *Ptolemy* writ it so, though we find it in his most antient Copies, I, and in the *Palatine* too: and yet *Lhuyd* seems to think so, while he conjectures that the last syllables of this name come from *Lan*, which with the Britains was as much as *Fanum*, or a Temple. For saith he, *Loca quæ à Latinis in Lan desinunt vel incipiunt olim à Fanis Brittanice dicta fuisse credo*. Which although it may be true in other names, yet here it seems to have no place. Therefore after so many Testimonies of the Antients concerning the name of this place, we will leave out all fond and futile conjectures, it being neither the part of a knowing man to devise them, nor of a wise man to admit of them.

\* *Sueton. in Caligula cap. 44.*  
nam mendosi  
sunt Orosii libri  
in ejus nomine.  
(f) *Dio Cass.*  
*Hist. Rom. l. 60.*  
(t) *Gloss. Βασι-*  
*λειον, Regis*  
*mansio, Regum*  
*domus.*

As for this *Camu'odunum*, it was of old the Palace of King *Cynobellinus*, father of *Admirus*,\* who *Caius Caligula* accepted homage of. This we learn from *Dio*: (f) *Καμυ'οδυνον, τὸ Κυνοβελίνου* (t) *Βασιλειον*; He was King in Britain about the time of *Augustus*, or certainly about *Tiberius* his Empire: which thing also his *Coynes*, as yet to be seen in many hands, do give some good assurance of:



Afterward, when *Claudius Caesar* himself undertook an expedition into Britain, and brought the hither part of the Island into subjection, a Colony of old Souldiers were drawn hither.

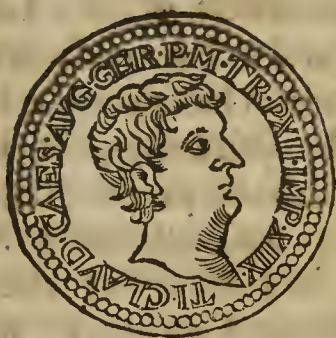
Ta-



Tacitus speaking of the Britain affairs under Claudius: (u) Colonia Camulodunum, valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles, & imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. And (x) elsewhere: In Coloniā Camalodunum recens deducti, pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, &c. Coyns were presently stamped, and issued forth, which witnessed as much, by their Inscription COL. CAMALODON AVG. which you see here:

(u) Tacit. Annal. 12.

(x) Ibid. Annal. 14.



On the one part you have the Effigies of *Claudius Cæsar*: The other (y) *Servius* will best of all explain: *Romani*, saith he, *condituri civitates, taurum in dextra, vaccam intrinsecus jungebant cincti ritu Gabino, i. e. togæ parte caput velati, parte succincti, tenebant stivam incurvam, ut glebæ omnes intrinsecus caderent. Et ita sulco ducto, loca murorum designabant, aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum.* But in an antient stone, it is called *Colonia Victricensis, quæ in Britannia Camuloduni*; and in the very same *Cives Romani* of this place are mentioned. The whole Inscription according as *Gruter* published it out of *Onuphrius*, is thus:

(y) *Servius Honorat. in Virg.*

CN. MUNATIUS M. F. PAL.  
AURELIUS BASSUS  
PROC. AUG.

PRÆF. FABR. PRÆF. COH. III.  
SAGITTARIOR. PRÆF. COH. II.  
ASTURUM. CENSITOR. CIVIUM.  
ROMANORUM COLONIÆ VICTRICENSIS  
QUÆ EST IN BRITANNIA CAMALODUNI:  
CURATOR VIÆ NOMENTANÆ  
PATRONUS EJUSDEM MUNICIPI  
FLAMEN PERPETUUS DUUMVIRALI.  
POTESTATE ÆDILIS DEDICATOR. IIII.

*Camden* thinks that it was called *Colonia Victricensis*, because of the old Souldiers of the fourteenth Legion, termed also *Gemina Martia Victrix*, whom *Tacitus* stiles *Britannia domitores*. Yet truly under *Nero*, ten years after, this Colony *Camulodunum*



*mulodunum* being utterly razed, the Legion notwithstanding is reckoned among those forces, which *Suetonius Paulinus* led against our *Boadicia*, and those *Britains*, who had destroyed *Camulodunum*, and the very Colony. It may be therefore that the Legion it self being cut off, yet the name thereof might remain continued from a new choice, and muster. The same Legion also is frequently spoken of by *Tacitus* in his (a) Histories: *Præcipui fama Quarta-decimani rebellione Britannia compressa.*

(a) *Tacit. Hist.*  
*lib. I.*

But let us come to what we would, and see what antient Authors have concerning the deduction of this Colony, and their doings, a little more accurately observed, with the Succession of affairs. *Tacitus* therefore in his *Agricola* thus: That *Caius* had a meaning to invade *Britanny*, it is certainly known. *Claudius* did first with effect prosecute the matter, transporting Legions and Aides, and assuming *Vespasian* into the action, which was the beginning of the Greatness whereunto he after attained: some Countreys were subdued, some Kings were taken, and *Vespasian* made known to the world.

The first Lievtenant Général was *Aulus Plautius*, then *Ostorius Scapula*, both excellent Warriours: and so by little and little was the neereft part of the Island reduced to the form of a Province? and besides a Colony of old Souldiers established there. *Publius Ostorius* in subduing the *Silures*, made use of their help. The nation of the *Silures*, saith (b) *Tacitus*, *Non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur; quin bellum exerceret, castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camalodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium ad versus rebelles, & imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. Itum inde in Siluras.* Afterward, when for ten years they had impotently raged against the *Britains*, they not yet enough servitio assuefacti, resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerunt acerrimo in veteranos odio. Quippe in Coloniam Camalodunum recens deducti, pellebant domibus; exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando: foventibus impotentiam veteranorum militibus, similitudine vita, & spe ejusdem licentia. Ad hæc Templum divo Claudio constitutum, quasi ara æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur: dilectique sacerdotes, specie religionis, omnes fortunas effundebant. Now he understands the chosen Pontifices, and *Flamens* of *Claudius*, out of the Provincials themselves: by whom sacrifices and offerings were to be made at their no smal cost. Moreover (c) *Seneca* also mentions this Temple: *Parum est quod Templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt & ut deum orant.* For *Ara* in *Tacitus*, it pleased *Justus Lipsius* to write *Aræ*, as if he called that Temple a pledge or assurance of lasting servitude: but *Valens Acidalius* rather pleased to have it *Arx*. *Tacitus* goes on: Neither did it seem any hard matter, to extirpate that Colony undefenced and un-

(b) *Annal. lib.*  
*12. & 14.*

(c) *Senec. in*  
*Αποχολοχων*  
*δῶσει, sive*  
*Ludo in mortem*  
*Claudii.*



unfortified, which was not circumspectly forseen by our Captains, whilst they had a greater care of pleasure, then good government. Amongst these things the image of Victory set up in *Camalodunum*, fell down without any apparant cause why, and turned back as though it would give place to the enemy. And the women, distempered with fury, went singing, that destruction was at hand. And strange noises were heard in their Court, and the Theatre gave a sound like to a howling, and a strange apparition of *Houses* in an arm of the Sea, was a fortelling of the (d) subversion of the Colony. For so hath *Lipsius* substituted, or rather restored this place, out of (e) *Dio*, in whom the same Prodigies are mentioned, and in the same order.

(d) *Subversa Colonia. Imo subvertenda, inquit Lipsius.*  
(e) *Dio Cassius Rom. Hist. lib. 5. ex quo etiam Dionis loco Tamesa nomen huc in Tacitum substituit Curtius Pichena & Cod. Florentin. ita ut legi debeat. Visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesæ subversa Colonia.*  
*Xiphilin ex Dionis lib. LXII.*

Ἐκ τῆς βαρυτητὸς ὄντος νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς δειλῆς δόρυβου μίσις οἰμογῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνδρῶπων μήτε φθειγγομένης οὐ μήτε σέθενος, δίκαια πένες ἐν τῇ γαμοσφ. ποταμῷ ἐφύδρου ἐωρῶντο. That is; and out of their Counsel-house, (the word is *Curia* in *Tacitus*;) a rude and barbarous stir in the night time with laughter, and out of the Theatre a tumult and hallow with lamentation was heard, when as no body either spoke or made any moan there, and certain houses in the River *Thames* were seen under water. The same Consular Historian in that book adds moreover, That Ὀκεανὸς ὁ μετὰ τὴν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδους ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πημυνεῖδι πύζειν. The Ocean between the Island and *Gallia* encreased at the time of the tide of a bloody colour. *Camden* confesses that he was ignorant *quam ob causam* in his time they called it black-water, though he acknowledges it to be the same with (o) *Ptolemies* Ἐιδυμαρία ποταμὸς ἐκβολαί, which he understands in the same signification from the British.

(o) *Ptol. Geogr. lib. 2.*

Such kind of noises with lamentation made in their Temples or Theatres, the ratling of arms, and turning of Statues out of their places were noted elsewhere amongst dire presages, so that there was not any more manifest evidence of ruin hanging over head. *Apollonius Rhodius* in the 8. of his *Argonauticks*:

μυχαὶ σσηκοῖς ἐνὶ φαντάζονταί.

The neat and witty Roman Historian (d): *Dux ipse Pompeius nocturna imagine Theatri sui audiens plansum in modum planctus circumsonare.* Concerning the same Pompey an other Roman writer: (e) *Constat in delubris deum, sua sponte signa conversa: militarem clamorem strepitumque armorum, adeo magnum Antiochiæ & Ptolemaide auditum, ut in muros concurreretur.* But what *Tacitus* (f) doth add is most part let pass by *Dio*: Further the Ocean bloody in shew, and dead mens bodies left after an ebb, as they brought hope to the Britains, so they drove the old Souldiers into a fear, who because *Suetonius* was far off, craved aid of *Catus Decianus* the Procurator. He sent not above two hundred men, and those badly armed, and the number not great which was there before, trusted to the franchise of the Temple. And those hin-

(d) *Luc. Florus lib. IV. cap. 2.*

(e) *Val. Maxim. lib. I. cap. 6.*

(f) *Tacit. Annal. lib. XIV.*



dering which were confederates of the secret conspiracy, troubled their designments: for they neither made trench nor ditch, nor sending away the old men and women, and keeping the young men only, being as secure as it had been in a full peace, they were surprized with a multitude of barbarous people, and all overthrown, and wasted with violence, or consumed with fire: the Temple only excepted, into which the Souldiers had fled, which also within two daies was besieged and taken. And the Britain being thus Conquerour, and meeting with *Patrus Cerealis* Lievtenant of the ninth Legion, which came to succour them, put to flight the Legion, and slew all the footmen: *Cerealis* with the horsemen escaped to the Camp, and defended himself in the fortresses. So the Romans found that to be of certain truth, which *Strabo* by a sagacious conjecture foresaw of the Britains, and as a south-telling Prophet also foretold:

(g) *Strabo Geograph. lib. IV.*

(g) ἀνάγκη κινδύνος ἀπαντᾶν τῆς, βίας ἐπαρρησίου. *Necessarily violence being offered, some danger would follow thereupon.* For the stubborn necks of the Britains, and not handsomely accustomed to the reins of servitude, the violence of contumely and injury being added, easily took head against the Yoak, and made opposition.

(h) *Tacit. ubi supra.*

The Leader in so famous a design, & *Dux fœmina facti*, was *Boodicia* Queen of the *Iceni*, under whom, they as (h) *Tacitus* saith, *contumelia & metu graviorum capiebant arma, commotis ad rebellionem Trinobantibus.*

(i) *Idem in vita Agricola.*

He joins to them (i) elsewhere the *Brigantes*: *femina duce exurere Coloniam, expugnare castra potuere: sumere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consecrati, expugnatæ prædiis, ipsam Coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullam in barbaris servitiæ genus omisit ira & victoria.* Hitherto belongs what he had said a little before: *Non sane alias exercitatio magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensæ Coloniae*: where, when as he saith, *Colonies*, in the number of multitude, besides *Camulodunum* he understands *Verulamium*, or which is most probable, *London* it self: of which yet neither was *cognomento Coloniae insignis*: for of *London* himself expressly denies it; and for *Verulamium*, he calls it *Municipium*. Neither is *Suetonius* otherwise to be understood: (o) *Clades Britannica, qua duo præcipua oppida, magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt.* But some of the most learned neither read the *Latin* word as in number of multitude; and there is also another commodious answer; Figure of speech; which not rarely admits a plural for a singular, as a gracefull excess.

(o) *Sueton. in Nerone cap. 39.*

But after so grievous an overthrow, *Camalodunum* yet after a few years began to flourish again; which we may conjecture out of *Pliny*: for he makes mention thereof as of a Town very famous in his daies: *In Mona, (k) saith he, quæ distat à Camaloduno Britanniae oppido circiter ducentis millibus;* For *Plinie*, in the Thirteenth Chapter of the same Book, makes

(k) *Plin. Natur. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 715.*

menti-



mention of the third Consulship of *Vespasian*, which happened in the tenth yeare after the overthrow of *Camalodunum*: so that here it is nothing necessary to urge that the same *Pliny* dedicated his Naturall History to *Vespasian*, when as such Inscriptions for the most part, and Preambles which no body is ignorant of, were wont to be made, when all was done. Again, if the Colony yet standing, *Pliny* wrote this, he seems not likely to have omitted the name Colony, as a thing that deserved not to be left out.

From this time to *Constantines* age, the memories of ancient things being lost, there is wholly silence concerning it; but that *Antoninus* here in this place makes mention of it, as also the ancient Itinerary Table of *Peutinger*, which *Scaliger* thought was compiled thence, as is observed before: whence no weak conjecture may be brought that it is ancients than the *Notitia Provinciarum*, which they will have to be written under *Theodosius* the younger: because therein those strengths were recorded by the Sea-side, which were appointed for the repelling of the piraticall Incurfions of the Saxons: And they were *sub dispositione viri Spectabilis Commitis littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*. Yet for all that therein is no mention made of it, the site being known well enough out of *Dio*, the matter it self I am sure seemed to require it, if it had been still standing: It is doubtfull therefore whether or no, some grievous calamity, and very neer to totall ruine might not in this mean while have so afflicted and prostrated it, that if it made it not wholly equall to the ground, yet it might seem to have stricken off its head and Gallantry. But certainly *Camulodunum* appears under the Empire of *Constantine M.* to be mentioned with high praise and worth; the name of *Colony* being also added: which thing I see pleases an extraordinary man, and one born for the promotion of better Letters. I mean the most admired (1) *John Selden*, who will have it to have flourished at that time with the dignity of an Episcopall Seat; and that from the Subscriptions of the first Counsell at *Arles*: to bring therefore hither his dissertation concerning this business, I thought it to be most convenient, In the late Edition, saith he, of the Counsels of *Gallia* which we owe to *Jaques Sirmond*, the first Counsell of *Arles*, out of an old Book of the Abbey of *Corbey* is Printed, where the names of the Bishops are set before the places, otherwise then in the other Edition; and there so far as concerns *Britain*, they are in this manner:

*Eborius Episcopus de Civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.*  
*Restitutus Episcopus de Civitate Londinensi provincia superscripta.*  
*Adelfius Episcopus de Civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde.*  
*Sacerdos Presbyter; Arminius Diaconus.*

So out of *Britain*, besides *Restitutus* of *London*, there were present at the Counsell at *Arles*, *Eborius* of *Tork*, and *Adelfius* de *Civitate Colonia Londinensium*, as here he is called, with a Presbyter

(1) Selden.  
 Comm. in Euty-  
 chii Patriar-  
 chae Alexan-  
 drini Origines  
 sue Ecclesiae A-  
 rabice editas, p.  
 122.



(m) Maxime  
intelligit Præ-  
stantis Dom. Ar-  
machan. qui  
Coloniā ali-  
am esse putat; de  
qua etiam in hoc  
opere alibi sa-  
tis dictum.

ter and a Deacon. But what is *Civitas Colonia Londinensium*? That truly in the Topography of *Britain*, signifies nothing. What credit ought to be given to the Book of *Corbey*, I know not; neither have I yet heard of what Antiquity it is: but if those Subscriptions out of it be to be received, I can scarce at all make any doubt (however (m) other men think otherwise:) but that *Adelfus* here was Bishop of the Colony of *Camulodunum*. Verily this Colony while the Roman Empire had any sway here, was exceeding famous, which, when as perhaps it was not written whole and entire; as *Col.* or *Colon.* *Camalodun.* or as sometimes, *Camolodon.* by the Transcribers, to whom the name of *London*, or *Londinum* was very well known; and yet were in the mean while quite ignorant what the Colony *Camulodunum* meant: as well from the cognation of the sound, as ignorance of this particular reading; it was changed into *Coloniā*, *London*, or *Londin*. So the old *Maldon* men had in times past their Bishop. But rather let the studious Reader have recourse to that uncomparable mans words, according as he is before directed. But for the present Situation of *Camulodunum*, where I mean the place it stood of old: then I must not dissemble, that some great Antiquaries, as *John Leland*, *Humphry Lhoid*, and such as follow them, do seek for *Camulodunum* in *Cholchester*. *Hinc credo*, saith *Lhoyd*, *fuisse Coloniā illam Claudii Cæsaris Templo celebrem, quam nunc Colcestriam vocant.* *Hætor Boethius* placed it in *Scotland*, and saith, *Regiam Pictorum fuisse olim ad Caronæ fl. ripam*; which *George Buchanan* his Country-man sayes is *vanissimum mendacium*. *Polydor. Virgil* seeks it in *Torkshire*: *Puto, Camulodunum (quando de ea re ambigitur) eo loci olim situm, ubi nunc est Dancastrum, quia vel Castrorum memoria videtur retinere nomen loci ad belli præsidium electi: aut Pontifratum, quod paulo proprius, & etiam citra Eboracum est, circiter millia passuum XVIII. loco magis ameno, quam munito. Extat castellum, & in eo aliqua vestigia Templi, quod ibidem Claudio Cæsari.* In a word, *Hætor* and *Polydorus* are in very deed alike, and according to the Greek saying, *ἄνθρωπος ἀνὴρ δύσκολος ἀδελφός*. But others also will have it to have stood among the *Brigantes*, or in *Torkshire*, perswaded thence, because in *Ptolemy* there goes next before it *Λεγίων 6. νικηφόρος*, or, *Legio sexta Victrix*; as if the title there of *Victrix* had explained that which ere while we brought out of the Stone, *Colonia Camulodunum Victricensis*: when as it is plain enough, that that *Legio sexta Victrix*, is to be meant of *Eboracum*; accordingly as it is put and to be referred; which also is retained in a Coyne of *Severus*: which see there. There have been some also who have sought it at *Chester*, the Seat of the *Legio Vicesima Victrix* in *Ptolemy*. But what sayes the old Greek Proverb?

Χαλὶς τὰ μυστῶν καὶ φρυγὴν δεισιμαλῆ.

Let us hear our great Antiquary *Camden* instead of all: It was verily



verily no other then *Maldon* in *Essex*. *Maxima*, saith he, *dictionis parte etiamnum integra, & superstita*. Nec hoc solummodo expressum nominis vestigium persuasit, verum etiam distantia à *Mona*, apud *Plinium*, à *Vanonio* apud *Antoninum*, & ipse situs in antiqua *Tabula Itineraria* probationem præstant vel apertissimam. But what is the complaint of the Poet?

\* *Nec se cognoscunt terra vertentibus annis.*

\* *Manilius lib. x.*

In space of time the Lands themselves not know.

CANONIO. M. P. IX. ] Our learned Antiquary *Camden*, when he saw the distance from *Maldon*, to *Chemsford*, to be some six miles, he concluded it to be *Canonium*, or at least that it encreased and grew out of the ruine thereof, if it indeed possesse not the same ground. It is a Town at this day spacious enough at the confluents of the *Chelmer*, and as some call it of the *Can*, which if they say right, this *Can* gave name to the old place. The same *Camden* in the *Prooedoss* of his Work, makes it to be *Canoniden*; quite on the other side of the Countrey, only the name somewhat alluding. *Talbot* before him, had set down to it *Kel-*  
*don* or else *Esterford*, of which we have *Fulks* testimony: for in his own book no such thing appears: but himself sets down *Coune* to it: truly in the antient Military (n) Table, about the place of its site *Caunonium* stands to be seen instead thereof.

(n) *Marco Vel-fero Editore; dein aliis.*

CÆSAROMAGO. M. P. XII. ] I conceive there is sufficient spoken in what goes before concerning this Station; We will go on therefore to the next.

DUROLITO. M. P. XVI. ] *Camden*, o *marginis*, the learned Illustrator of the decayed Antiquities of this our Island, ingeniously confesses, that he cannot shew *signate quo in loco* this station was to be found; yet he assures us and that *sine dubio*, that it stood by the River *Ley*. His own words are once for all: *Vetusta hujus Comitatus loca, semel præmoneo, obscuritate ita involuta latent, ut ego qui alibi aliquid viderim, hic plane cecutiam*. But if his conjecture hold good, *Durolitum* signifies as much as, The Town upon the water *Ley*: for there is a Village at this day called *Leyton* V. miles from *London*, for which in *Antoninus*, XV. through the heedlesnes of the Transcribers, hath crept in. Besides not far hence there was in old time a passage of the water whence the name of the place is called *Ouldsford*, that is, *Antiquum Vadum*, which gives sufficient testimony.

LONDINIO. M. P. XV. ] What was fitting to be said concerning this I hope is enough expressed formerly, to which I refer you.



## BRITANNIARUM.

## ITER. X.

Editio

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

ITER A CLANOVENI  
TAMEDIOLANUM.

C L. sic;

GALAVAM. M. P. XVIII.

ALONEM. M. P. XII.

GALACUM. M. P. XIX.

BREMETONACIM. M. P. XXVII.

COCCIUM. M. P. XX.

\* XVIII. MANCUNIUM. M. P. \* XVII.

\* XVIII.

CONDAT. M. P. XVIII.

\* XIX.

MEDIOLANUM. M. P. \* XVIII.

\* XIX.

Cumberland.

Our very learned Antiquary, either truly, or as a matter of his opinion, for himself makes the question, places *Glanoventa* by the banks of the River *Wentsbeck*; neither wants he reasons to make it probable: as first of all, that it was the garrison consisting of the first Guard of the *Morini* in the Romans time, and that *per lineam Valli*, as we have the Good and sufficient testimony of the *Notitia* of the Western Empire: *Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum per Lineam Valli excubabat Tribunus Cohortis I. Morinorum Glannivante*. Then with the old Britains *Glanoventa* signified, the Shore, or banks of *Venta*; as

(p) *Pomp. Mela*  
*de situ orbis lib.*  
2. cap. 12. Nec  
*procal. Massilia.*

in (p) *Pomponius Mela* we find a coast City, or Maritime of *Gallia*, stiled likewise *Glands*. Though in the *Proecdosis* or former Edition of his learned Work, *Bainbridge* in *Richmondshire* be to be seen there.

Cumberland.

*GALAVA*. M. P. XVIII. ] So absolutely were both editions both of *Aldus*, and *Simlerus*; And *Hier. Surita* confesses, that in his best Copies the reading was alike, *Galava*, though *Camden* indeed would rather have it *Gallana*, and inclines to think it *Wall-wick*, though in the former editions of his learned work we find *Kellenton* in the *Barony* of *Kendall* for it.

Cumberland.

*ALONE*. M. P. XII. ] The Eastern part of *Cumberland* is a barren, hungry, and lean soile, neither shews it any thing, save the Springs of *West Tine* in a plashie ground, and an an-  
tient



tient Roman Way paved some eight Ells broad, leading out of *Westmorland*, which they call *Maiden-way*, and where the stream *Alon*, and the same *Tine* do meet, upon the side of an Hill somewhat yeilding, are the remainders of a very great Town and Castle, enclosed with a fore-fold Trench, as likewise to the West: they call it at this day *Whitley Castle*, in testimony of whose antiquity this Inscription is yet to be seen:

IMP. CÆS. Lucii Septimi Severi Ara  
BICI, ADIABENICI, PARTHICI  
MAX. FIL. DIVI ANTONINI Pii Germanici  
SARMA. NEP. DIVI ANTONINI PII. PRON.  
DIVI NADRIANI ABN. DIVI TRAJANI  
PARTH ET DIVI NERVÆ ADNEPOTI  
M. AURELIO ANTONINO PIO  
FEL. AUG. GERMANICO PONT. MAX.  
TR. POT---X---IMP---COS. III. P. p---  
PRO PIETATE ÆDE---VOTO..

COMMUNI CURANTE

{ Nomen legati Au-  
gusti Propræt. pe-  
riit; forte is est Vi-  
rius Lupus.

---LEGATO AUG.

PR---COH. III. NERVIO---

RUM---G. R. POS.

All that is said in this old Altar here is confirmed very well, and witnessed by the *Notitia Occidentalis Imperii*, which saies as much: *excubabat Tribunus Cohortis III. Nerviorum Alione per Lineam Valli sub dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum*. Onely *Pancirolus* following *Camden* is much mistaken, when he saies, that of this at this day it is called *Lancaster*, as if it were *Alone*, for the Britains *Allone*, *id est*, *supra Lonum*: Fl. much better we find it in *Francis Holyoke*, Old Town upon *Allone*, *id est*, *Vetus Oppidum ad Alonem in Northumbriâ*, or in *William Fulk*, *Allenton*, not far from *Whitley Castle*. But by no means may we admit of that conjecture of *Josias Simlerus*. Who in his notes to *Antoninus* very much amiss doth set to it *Ἀλῶνα*, a City of Britain in *Ptolemy*.

CALACUM. M. P. XIX.] *Galacum* in this Journey is the very same saith our *Camden*, which in *Ptolemy* is *Galatium* or *Κάλατον*, the fourth City numbred among the *Brigantes*, but *Galatium* in the one, and *Galacum* in the other are both promiscuously taken the one for the other in *Camden*, either through the Writers oscitancy, or the Printers oversight, or by both.



In the last Edition it is *Whelp-Castle* with *Camden* in *Cumberland*, but in the *Proecdosis* of that Work it is *Overburrow* in *Lancashire*: but in the last Edition as I said, *Whealp-Castle* in *Cumberland*. And with *William Fulk* it is *Litchfield*, though quite against the

\* The reason of  
account.

\* *Ratio Itineraria*.

Lancashire.

BREMETONACIM. M. P. XXVII.] It happens in *Antoninus* in the Tenth Journey, beginning at *Glanoventa* through *Mediolanum*. *Camden*, as we have said, in his *Proecdosis*, thought this the very same with *Bremetunacum*, in the *Notitia*; But upon second thoughts he conjectured it to be *Overburrow* in *Lancashire*.

Vide *Suritam*  
in *Notis ad An-*  
*toninum*.

Lancashire.

COCCIIUM. M. P. XX.] Neer *Overburrow* is thought to have been a great City, and to have possessed large fields between the *Lac* and *Lone* the Inhabitants do deliver by Tradition from hand to hand; and indeed this place doth assert its Antiquity by several Monuments yet appearing, engraven stone, pavements of Musive Work, *Romans* Coyn, and the very name hard by, which being denoted from a Burrow, plainly expresses, and argues its Antiquity; and if there be any room for conjecture, this is *Coccium* according as the learned Spaniard dis-joines it from *Bremetonacum* in the *Notitia* very rightly, here the River imparts its name to the Town, in which appears so many tokens of Antiquity as no where else more, so many Statues, Coyne, Pillars, the Bases thereof, Altars, Marble Inscriptions, and such Remains of antient State; that not undeservedly the Inhabitants boast, though in a halting rhyme.

It is written upon a Wall in Rome:

Ribchester was as rich as any Town in Christendome.

The name is *Riblechester* from the River, as we said, and it might, as it usually happens, antiently have altered its appellation; and so that which here is *Coccium*, may be in *Ptolemy* *Πισοδών*, which he places in this situation, that is eighteen miles, which he affirms from *Mancunium*. The name of the *Æstuarium*, which makes up towards it by the River *Ribel* is called by *Ptolemy* *Βελίουμα*: in which are some Remains of the name, the Etymology of which I would you would rather look for in Master *Selden*, where he speaks of the several Deities named from *BEL*. In this place is the famous Inscription, wherein the *Deæ Matres* are mentioned, of which I spoke formerly: thus.

Synagm de  
Dis. Syriis.



DEIS MATRIBUS

M. INGENUI-

US ASIATICUS

DE C. AL. AST.

SS. LL. M.

Vide Vinu-  
um supra.

By which we learn, that the *Decurio* of the *Ala Asturum* (some-  
times a people of *Spain* : ) paid his vow here. Besides you must  
remember to correct your *Beda*, where you have *Rhypum* falsely  
printed, as well as in *Ptolemy*, for *Rippon*, see him *Libro Ecclesia-  
stice Historia*, 3. cap. 25.

The other three Stations *Mancunium*, *Condate*, *Mediolanum*,  
are already spoken to : I will therefore refer the Reader to  
what goes before concerning them.

L 12

BRITAN-



## BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. XI.

Editio

Aldina

Sunitana.

Simleriana.

A SEGONTIO  
DEVAM. M.P.  
LXXXIII. sic;

CONOVIO. M.P. XXIV.  
VARIS. M. P. XIX.  
DEVA. M. P. XXXII.

Caernarvonshire

De quibus Cam-  
den in Belgiis.(a) In Cod.  
Blandin.(b) In lib. Nea-  
pol. item apud  
Sunitam.

\*Lhan-Beblin.

(c) Adi Dom.  
Vsserium Pri-  
mordiorum p.  
60. ubi sepul-  
chrum Constan-  
tii monstrari  
juxta urbem,  
quæ vocatur Ca-  
er Segeint, re-

fert Ninnius; ut litoræ, inquit, quæ sunt in lapide tumuli ejus ostendunt, & antiquam urbem Constantii Imperatoris, filii Constantini magni, in Arvoniam collocat Britannicus scriptor vitæ Gruffini filii Conani Venedotiæ Principis, quanquam anno Dom. 1283. apud Caernarvon prope Suondunam, corpus maximi principis, Patris Imperatoris nobilis Constantii, fuisse inventum, & rege Edovardo I. jubente, in ecclesia honorifice collocatum, Mathæus Westmonasteriensis narrat, ut ad Constantium Constantini M. patrem quem Eboraci in Britannia potius quam ad Constantium Constantini filium quem Mopsocrenis vel Mopsuesti in Cilicia mortuum esse legimus, referenda ista videantur.

OWN



own credit for the truth of this : ) that the body of *Constantius* the father of *Constantine* the great, was found *An. MCCLXXXIII.* and honorably placed in the Church of the new City by the command of *Edward* the first, for he had at that time out of the ruines hereof so drawn out of the City *Caer-Narvon* somewhat higher to the *Ostium* of the River that it was upon the West and the North washed with its waters : which it self as it was so called by reason of its situation thereof opposite to the Island of *Mona* so gave its name to the whole Shire or Countrey, which at this day the *English* do call *Caer Narvonshire*; the same *Edward* the first earnestly laboured, to pass his men into *Mona*, or *Anglesea*, to joyn this Island with a Bridge to the Continent, but in vain. Long before his time this was the place where *Suetonius Paulinus* the Roman General passed over his Army hither, which we learn by the sufficient Authority of the excellent (d) *Tacitus* : *Igitur Monam Insulam incolis validam, & receptaculum persugarum aggredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo, adversus breve littus & incertum. Sic pedites, equites vado secuti, aut altiores inter undas, adnantes equis transmisere. Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercurrentibus feminis, in modum Furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus dejectis faces præferebant. Druidæque circum, preces diras sublati ad cælum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere militem : ut quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortationibus ducis, & se ipsi stimulant, ne muliebri & fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, & igni suo involvunt Præsidium post hac impositum vicis excisq; luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cum re captivo adolere aras, & hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant. Hæc agenti Suetonio, repentina defectio Provincia nuntiatur. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Cæsarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnum & domum suam procul injuria fore, quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos, velut capta vastaretur.*

(d) *Tacit. Ann. nal. lib. 14.*

CONOVIVM. M. P. XXIII. ] *Caer-Narvonshire* stretcheth it self in a fair Plain as far as the River *Conovius*, commonly called *Conwey*, which limiting on the East this Shire, terminates it. This River is by *Ptolemy*, *compendiaria Græcè scribendi ratione*, expressed, saith the learned *Cimden*, by *Κονόβιον* *Toosovius*, for *Κονόβιον*, or *Conovius*; for breaking forth of a Pool of the same name, it speeds on, till neer unto the mouth it grows less, where it nourisheth certain Shel-fish which fed with a certain celestial dew, bring forth precious stones, giving its name to the old Station, here mentioned by *Antoninus*, which though it be now ruined and extinct, yet by the new name it declareth its antiquity : for a very small village, out of its ruins appears, called *Caer-Hean*; that is, *Urbs antiqua*: raised at the mouth thereof, out of the spoils of the other, which *Hugh Earl of Chester*

*Caernarvonshire*



Vide Mattheum  
Westmonast. ad  
annum 283.

Chester first fortified, and afterwards Edward the first, according as Leland relates; *debellatis Venetis, muro quadrati lapidis pulcherrimo cinxit, arcemque restauravit.*

\* Flintshire.

V A R I M. M. P. XIX. ] In the Confines of *Caer-Nirvonsshire* \* and this, where the Hills fall with a gentler descent, and afford an easier passage into the Valleys, the Romans placed the City *Varis* in the very entrance, which is said by *Antoninus* to be XIX. mile. This at this day with little change of the name is called *Bod-Vari*, that is, the Mansion of *Varus*, and they shew in the neighbour Hill, which they call *Moyloy Gaer, id est, mons urbis*, wherefore whereas elsewhere you find it interpreted *Transitus*, as in *Durnvaria, Isannavaria*; & à nostra opinione facit hæc *Varis* eo loci sita, ubi solum patet facilis inter montes transitus; as saith the all-learned *Camden*.

Cheshire.

D E V A M. M. P. XXXIII. ] Of this we have spoken before, where we learn, that in the Roman age, the residence of the *Legio XX. Viſtrix*, was here: according to *Antoninus* and *Ptolemy*; besides old Inscriptions. Whence it is, that *Leland* calls the whole Countrey about, *Devania*, for *Chestershire*.

BRITAN



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. XII.

Editio.

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

Viroconiorum ITER A† MARIDUNO  
VIROCONIUM. Viroconiorum.  
M. P. CLXXXVI. sic ;  
Muridon. MARIDUNO. M. P. XXXVI.  
LEUCARUM M. P. XV.  
\* NIDUM M. P. XV.  
\* BOMIUM. M. P. XV.  
\* Transpositæ sunt hæc Stationes apud Harrisonum.  
Isceleia Augusta. \* ISCAM LEG. II. AUG. M. P. XXVII. Iscelegua Aug. 28.  
BURRIUM. M. P. IX.  
GOBANNUM. M. P. XII.  
Magnis. MAGMIM. M. P. XXII. Magnis.  
BRAVONIUM. M. P. XXIV. Bravinio  
VIROCONIUM. M. P. XXVII. Viricon.

† Studii exemplari, A  
Caleva per Muridu-  
num Viroconium : at-  
que ita rectius legitur,  
nam Muridunum vel  
Moridunum in me-  
dio hoc itinere poni-  
tur : Iofias Simlerus.

\* Iscelegu Au-  
gusti, vel Isce-  
legia Augu-  
sti : emendo  
ex Ptol. Isca-  
leg. II. Au-  
gusta. Ponit  
enim Ptol. pro-

pe Iscamleg. II. sic tamen, ut amborum loca semisse unius gradus longitudinis distent, & quadrante, quo ad lati-  
tudinem : quæ distantiam faciunt circiter XXXV. M. P. hic tamen major ponitur distantia inter Iscam Dummo-  
niorum & leg. II. Aug. Iofias Simlerus.

THIS Author by the heedlessness of the *Librarii* or Transcribers is much abused, for they have very coarsely handled him, having confounded two distinct Journeys, the last and this same here: and this oversight and error, is in every copy, which is extant, and hitherto hath escaped the curious eyes of the undertakers of the several Editions of him: the main cause of the error was the ignorance of *Muridunum*, and the taking it for (a) *Maridunum*; which is known by most to be *Kaer-Maribin* in Wales, so that this journey will prove from thence to *Wrokccester* in *Shropshire*, and it is by *Kaer-Maribin*, or *Mædærov*, as *Ptolemy* calls it here: the Journey which begins *Muridunum* is exactly the same with the last, as you may see plainly in what comes after: neither doth *Antoninus* continue his marches beyond this *Maridunum*.

(a) Et non ulterius sua itinera persequitur *Ptolemæus*: but he maintains the old reading of *Antoninus*, which is *Muridunum*: of which see the last Journey.

The next Station which happens in this Journey, is *Leuca-* *Glamorganshire*.  
*rum* in (e) *Glamorganshire* by the River *Logher*, which also we now call *Logher*. It is famous from former time for that about the death of *Henry* the first, *Howel Ap Meridick*, falling down upon

(e) Camden in *Silurib. pag.* 500.



upon the English, with his Mountaineers, flew many of them of better quality.

NIDO. M. P. XV.] By the River *Nidus*, famous for the quicksand, is seated a Town of the same name, mentioned here: which our Antiquaries have in vain sought after; it stood of old neer to Saint *Lantwit*, that is, *fanum sancti Illuti*, at a proportionable distance to this: and the foundations of many dwellings do shew themselves thereby; besides *Neath* easily revealeth it self, in *Nidus*.

Monmouthshire.

BOVIO. M. P. XV.] *William Fu'ck*, an Antiquary of *Cambridge*, calls it *Rumey* (for so it is written f. *Rumney*;) thought was the name of it which is a village a mile and a half, as he saith, on this side *Landaff* in *Glamorgan-shire*: *Camden* in the *Proceeds* of his work, saith it was *Cowbrid* a known Town of the Shire, and it is most known, that this name hath some consonancy therewithal, as we could shew also by many other examples; that *Eubœa* drew its name from *Cattle*, (f) *Strabo* is the Author: Τάχα δ' ὅσπερ Βοὸς αὐλὴ λέγεται ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀιγαίαν περὶ αὐτὴν παραλίᾳ ὅπου πρὸς τὴν τεκνὴν φασιν ἐπαρὸν, καὶ ἡ νῆσος [Eubœa] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἔχει τὸ τοῦτο ὄνομα. So that after it, it will be needless to mention *Bosphorus*, *Bovilla*, *Bovianum*, as neither *Baulos*, concerning the name of which village I am well pleased to transcribe the no in-elegant verses of *Symmachus*, and the rather because he was the possessor of it so many ages after *Hortensius*.

(f) *Strabo* Geograph. lib. X.

*Huc Deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coëgit,  
Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.  
Inde recens ætas corrupta Boaulia Baulos  
Nuncupat, occulto nominis indicio.*

*Alcides* here his Cattel did improve  
That he from triple *Gerions* stables drove;  
Our age corrupting this *Boaulia* call,  
Which hints the old denomination, *Baul*.

But seeing that in the repeated Edition of *Camdens Britannia* from second cares, three mile from this *Cowbridge*, as he saith, *Boverton* offered it self, they are his own words, *ita me veritas amet, non alibi Bovium indagare ausim*. Truly the *Itinerary* distance, both from *Nidus*, and *Isca*, on both sides, mightily confirm this conjecture: not far from this *Bovium* is Saint *Donatists* Castle, the *Coyne*s of the *Thirty Tyrants*, which other-where are seldome found, are digged up here. *Bonium* in most Copies was written down, as *Surita* informs us, and in the second Journey *Bovium*, in both places much amiss, for there it should be *Bonium*, here *Bovium*.

*Inter eos nummos Æmiliani item & Marii habentur: quorum hic (Mæc. v. & Zosimo dicitur lib. I.) sub Iul. Philip- po, ille sub Gallo Imp. ad moliendum res novas conversus, imperium arripuit, & utrique protinus e medio sublatus.*



ISCAM LEG. II. AUG. M.P. XXVII.] Although Ptolemie place this Legion quite among a distinct people, (g) yet the same (g) *Inter Legion* may be understood, where he hath *Ἰσκα Λεγεὼν δευτέρα Σεβαστή*, *δευτονίης* *Dumnonies* *Ptolemæo quæ* *Romanis Is-* *ca Domnionum,* *ita à Britannis* *testante etiam* *ußerio Mileven-* *si in gestis Æl-* *phredi Regis* *Anno 876.* *Cair Wisc vel* *Cair Isc appella-* *latum fuisse* *constat.* *Humfridus* *Lhuydus, ex* *Giraldò Cam-* *brensi.* *Erat hæc urbs an-* *tiqua & nobilis, cujus vestigia adhuc supersunt, palatia immensa, tur-* *ris gigantea, thermæ insignes, templorum reliquiæ & loca theatra, mu-* *ris egregiis partim extantibus omnia clausa, etiam edificia subterranea,* *aquarum ductus hypogeosque meatus: sunt ibi stuphæ miro artificio con-* *fectæ. Ibi jacent duo Martyres, Julius & Aaron qui habebant ecclesias sibi* *dedicatas. Erat etiam & Archiepiscopalis Ecclesia sub Dubricio, quæ* *cessit Davidi.* There were, besides others in this place taken up, the Inscriptions, whereof one makes mention of HATERIANUS LEG. AUG. PR. PR. PROVINC. CILIC.

There is another, which mentions the Effigies of Diana, and witnesseth that a Temple to her was restored by Titus Flavius Postumius Varus Veteran. perhaps of the Cohors of the second Legion.

T. FLAVIUS POSTUMIUS VARUS  
V. C. LEG. TEMPL. DIANÆ  
RESTITUIT.

A Monument, which all that Gyantlike structure of Paules cannot shew the like, though it be said most anciently to have been dedicated to this Deity. Next to that is a votive Altar for Severus his Sons, but with Getas name scraped out at such time as he being declared to be an Enemy, was at length quite removed by his Brother Antoninus Bassianus.

PRO SALUTE  
AUGG. N. N.  
SEVERI ET ANTON.  
NI ET GETE CAES  
P. SALTIENUS P. F. MAE-  
CIA THALAMUS HADRI.  
PRAEF. LEG. II. AUG.  
C. VAMPEIANO, ET  
LUCILIAN.

C. Vampeino.

In libris impressis Claudius Pompeianus  
& Lollianus Avitus Coss. Anno Christi  
210.

V. Laterculum Coss. apud Dion. Pe-  
tr. De Doctrina Temp. Tom. 2. ubi etiam  
hic Coss. Vampeianus, non Pompeianus  
dicitur, ex Idalio, sorte, vel Casiodoro.

GALPHRIDUS MONOMETHENSIS  
HISTORIÆ BRITANINCÆ LIB. I. CAP. XIX.

Belinus renovavit urbes ubicunque collapsæ fuerant, & multas novas ædificavit. Inter ceteras composuit unam super Oscan flumen prope Sabrinum mare, quæ multis temporibus Kaerosc. appellata est. Metropolis Glocestre fuerat. Postquam autem Romani venerunt præfato nomine deleta vocata est urbs Legionum, nomen nata a Ro-

Mm

manis



manis legionibus qui ibidem hyemare solebant. Ex Alexandro Elsebiensi. Hic etiam sub ingressum Saxonum fuit gymnasium ducentorum Philosophorum, qui Astronomia caterisque artibus eruditi cursus stellarum diligenter observabant, ut scripsit Alexander Elsebiensis author rarus, è quo mihi plurima descripsit Thomas James Oxoniensis vir eruditus, & vere φιλόβιβλος, qui se totum literis & libris involvit, & jam publici boni studio in Angliæ Bibliothecis excutiendis (Deus opus secundet :) id molitur, quod reip. literariæ imprimis erit usui.

Among the rubbish and fragments of stones here you shall also finde these too.

## VIII.

7. VALER  
MAXSIMI

Trierarchus Val. Maximus Iabolen.  
l. 46. ad S. C. Trebel. Manlius Se-  
vera ibid.

Hieronimus Surita in \* Varijs Lectionibus in Antoninum.

Isca Leg. II. Aug. M. P. XXVII.] In Bland. Iscalia Augusti M. P. XXVII. & in Meap. Iscalegi Augusti M. P. XXVIII. & in Longol. libris Iscalegia Augusti M. P. XXVII. & pro dictione Augusti, Legi corrigitur, & XXVII. M. P. Legionem II. Augustam eo loco constitutum indicat, quod & a Ptolemaeo desinitur, tametsi tanquam duo sint opida, numeri longitudinis & latitudinis utrique inepte attribuantur. Ἰσκα λεγιῶν δευτέρας σεβασῆς. Præterea legio secunda Augusta in Britannijs ab Auctore Notitiæ Provinciæ recensetur sub Comite littoris Saxonici per Britanniam hoc modo. Præpositus Legionis II. Augustæ Rutupis.

\* Iacobus Augustus Thuanus videndus est Histor. Anno CI, IC LXXX.

This Legion instituted by Augustus was taken into Britain by Claudius Cæsar, and planted here, where by the leading of Julius Frontinus it recided against the Silures, of whom Tacitus. How great this Isca was read a little out of Giraldus in his Itinerary of Wales: Erat hæc urbs antiqua & autentica, a Romanis olim coctilibus muris egregie constructa. Videas hic multa pristina nobilitatis vestigia, palatia immensa aureis olim tectorum fastigijs Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod a Romanis principibus primo constructa, & edificijs egregijs illustrata fuisset. Turrim giganteam, thermas insignes, templorum reliquias, & loca theatralia muris egregijs, partim adhuc extantibus omnia clausa, &c. Guil. Camden in \* Siluribus pag. 489.

\* Monmouthshire.

BURRIUM. M. P. IX.] It stands where the stream of Birthin is mingled with the Isca. The Britains at this day, transposing the letters, call it Brubege for Burenbege by Giraldus Cæstrum ofcæ, but by the English Uske; it now onely possesses the ground or room of a large and fortified Castle which most pleasantly lyes between the River Isca an Oilway the stream which under it passeth by the neat dwelling of the Earle of Worcester as it were under a Castle on the East.

Monmouthshire.

GOBANNIUM. M. P. XII.] At the confluent of Isca and Gobannius this statio is placed, whence Aber-Gevenne and contractedly Aber-Genne which signifies just as much.

H. S.  
MAG-



MAGMIM. M. P. H. S. XXII. ] In Bland. & reliquis Magnis Radnorshire.  
M. P. XXII. Sub Duce Britanniarum in Notitia Provinciarum Præfe-  
ctus Numeri Pacensium Magnis recensetur, tam etsi in Manuscripto,  
& vulgatis Magis legitur: nam infra in eis per Lineam valli Tribu-  
nus Cohortis II. Dalmatarum Magnis legitur.

Old Radnor in Brittish called *Maiseveth llean*, and from the  
steep ascent *Pencrag*, which in the Reigne of King *John*, was by  
*Rees Ap-Griffin* burnt downe to the Ground. If I shall say that  
this which *Antoninus* seems to call *Magnos*, wherein *Theodosius* the  
younger time the præfectus of the *Milites Pacenses* had his being  
Sub *Britanniarum Ducis*, I should perhaps misse of the truth in o-  
ther mens opinion, however not in mine own; for the inhabitants  
of this whole Tract are called *Magaseses*, and the Earles thereof  
*Magesetenses* and *Masegetenses*, in the writers of the middle Age, and  
the Reason of the account of Miles from *Gobannium*, or *Aber-Ge-*  
*venne*, so also from *Brangonium* doth not in the least differ from  
that of *Antoninus*, In lib. de Notitia imp. Ro. legitur, præfectum nu-  
merorum Pacensium in præsidio Magis: item in eodem lib. Tribunum co-  
hortis secunda Magnis collocatum. Magnos item in Itin. Ant. inveni-  
mus unumne oppidum, an diversa sint non aſſim pro certo affirmare.  
Verum magis inclinatur animus, ut credam diversa. Geor. Buchanan, Re-  
rum Scoticarum Fol. 24. An *Chesteringwall*, it is called by *Cam-*  
*den*.

As the learned  
Antiquary Do-  
ctor Godwin,  
In recensu Epis-  
coporum Durol-  
mensium.

BRAVONIUM. P. XXIV. ] The name of a City of Bri-  
taine in the way to *Wrokcester*. But *Simlerus* hath *Bravinium*, and  
so hath he caused it to be published, but *Camden* hath corrected  
it *Brannomium*, most amendedly, if I am able to Judge any thing a-  
right. In *Ptolemy* it is called Βραννογενιον, *Brannogenium*, which *Wil-*  
*liam Fulk* minded not, who set down to it *Bangor*, following, as  
it seemes, *Joseph Moletius*, and *Paullus Jovius*, who yet pleased to  
have *Bravinum*, heretofore to be called *Bridge-North*, as we  
see. It is a City of the *Ordovites*, and therefore by *Camden*, who  
found it among the *Cornavij*, rightly thought to be banished  
from its own Seat, it is famous to Posterity, for the Antiquity  
of it, and the often variety of Fortune. First, it remained con-  
tent under the safeguard of the Roman gentlenesse, straight-  
way the Danes troubling all with boundlesse Fury, it passed  
diverse changes, yet alwayes after the ruine, it sprang up fresh  
again, as at this day it flourisheth with very great celebrity, whe-  
ther you consider the splendidness of the Buildings, and the mag-  
nificence of the Churches, or whether the frequency of the Ci-  
tizens themselves, and inhabitants, or whether the Nature of  
the Soil and Scituation by the River *Severn*, upon no very steep  
Hill, on whose Easterne banck it was placed by the Romans,

Worcestershire.



As also many other great Cities, not upon this River alone, to hold in the *Transalpine Britains*, as also those which lived upon the bank of the *Dee*, and the *Rhine* beyond Sea, to hinder the irruption of the *Germans* into *Gaul*, as it hath been already observed by learned men who instance in *Strasbury*, *Spira*, *Mentz*, *Bing*, *Boppard*, *Confluents*, *Lonna*, and others. *John Rossus* of *Warwick*, a learned Antiquary in our Grandfathers daies relates that it was founded by King *Constantius*. In *Ninnius* his Catalogue of old Cities, which he reckons to be XXVIII. where it is related that it was in old time *Romanorum superba mœnibus*, old writings affirm, and however I fear *Camden* is somewhat mistaken, when he names to *Worcester* out of *Ninnius* *Caer-Goragon*, and *Guarchon*, which in Doctor *Ushers* judgement are thought rather to be *Warwick* or *Wrokenchester*; *Worcester* being commonly at this day *Caer-Urangan*, called by the *Cambro-Britains*, as formerly, by the Saxons *Weoganecerpen*, & *Wipecepen*, from *Wire*, as some will have it, a Woody Laune thereto adjoined.

(g) *Cornelius*  
ille *Nepos* hic  
est --- qui sole-  
bant *Catulli* esse  
aliquid putare  
nugas ut ipse ait.

In old time it flourished for nothing more then the Sanctimony and learning of the Bishops among whom some also were famous for the opinion of Miracles among the common people. The Bishops Sea was restored about the yeare DCLXXX. among whom I will only name *Baldwinus*, to whom, adorned with the dignity of the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*, *Josephus Exoniensis*, a man to be compared, not only with the most excellent Wits of his own age, but also with any of the Ancients, dedicated his Book *De bello Trojano*; so often published beyond Sea, under Visard of (g) *Cornelius Nepos*. And this the studious Reader shall understand, is the rather set down by us, because he is thought the first to have called this City by the name *Vigornia*, in this we have *John Lelands* own words for it, that it is not *nomen admodum novum* in this very work; as they do also commonly at this day:

*In numerum jam crescit honos; Te tertia poscit  
Insula: jam meminit Wigornia; Cantia discit;  
Romanus meditatur apex; Et naufraga Petri  
Ductorem in mediis expectat cymba procellis.  
Tu tamen occiduo degis contentus civili,  
Tertius a Thoma, \* Thomasque secundus Et alter;  
Soloriens, rebus successor, moribus heres.  
Felices quos non trahit ambitus.*

\* S. Thomas Can-  
tuariensis.

Thy Honour growes, Thee the third Isle requires,  
*Worster* remembers and all *Kent* admires,  
*Rome* Thee expects, and prays thou wouldst appear,  
Saint *Peters* crazy Ship through stormes to steer,  
Thou with a Western Cure art pleas'd and want,  
Whom next Saint *Thomas* we a third place grant,

The



The rising Sun is to thy Vertues Heire :  
Happy be those who not ambitious are.

The most learned man *Gerard Langbain*, and my very good friend in Queens Colledge, and almost the onely Ornament of *Oxford*, caused these Verses to be thus written out of the MS. which were before wanting in the Printed Books. This following *Richard* the first in his Journey to the holy Land, mightily assisted our Party by preaching, counselling, and communicating his store to the needy, an example of most holy carriage, till at length in the Siege of *Ptolemais* : (our men say *Acre* and *Acon*) being taken with a greivous disease, died about the year  $\infty$  c x c.

VIROCONIUM. H. S. *Variis lectionibus in Antoninum.* *Wrocester in*  
VIROCONIUM. M. P. XXVII.] *Viroconio habent Blandin.* *Skropshire.*  
*exempl. & libri Longol. & Neapol. Viroconio supra Viroconium ad-*  
*scribi debere advertimus ex hac mansione, & Ptolemai Geographia.*

BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. XIII.

Editio.

*Aldina.*

*Suritana.*

*Simleriana.*

ITER AB ISCA  
CALLEVAM. M.P.  
CIX. sic;

BURRIUM. M. P. IX.

In locum istum Gobannium restituit Guilielmus Fulco.

BLESTIUM. M.P. XI.

ARICONIUM. M. P. XI.

CLEVUM. M.P. XV.

DUROCORNIVIUM. M.P. XIV.

SPINAS. M.P. XV.

CALLEVAM. M.P. XV.

GOBANNIUM.] This is called *Aber-Gevenne* from the River, there mingling it self with the River *Isca*.

BLESTIUM. M.P. XI.] It is a Station in *Antoninus* in the Journey which is set down from *Isca* Leg. II. Aug. to *Callena Atrebatum*, that it was that little Town in the limits of *Herefordshire*.



shire, which is called the old Towne, the exact distance from the two Mansions passed on either side doth sufficiently witness. Certainly if the reason thereof did not evince it, the reason of the name would for as many as happen in *Britaine* (and they are not a few) the Romans being here Masters of all, were military Stations, and possessed by their Souldiers at this day, they that are of the Brittaines issue and Language, call it *Caer Hean Francis Holyoke* hath evilly published it, *Blestuin*.

See Camden in  
*Siluribus* pag.  
471.  
Kenchester  
walls near Here-  
ford.

(b) vide in  
*Arch. Fiscali*  
*ubi hodie serva-*  
*tur.*  
*Vide sis. clariss.*  
*Dm, Selden ad*  
*Eadmer. pag.*  
*154. Guil. Har-*  
*rison Descript.*  
*Britan. lib. 2.*  
*cap. 17. Geffrey*  
*Monmouth. Hist.*  
*Brit. lib. 1 cap. 5.*  
*Glocestershire,*

ARICONIUM. M. P. XI.] It is only met withall in the Journey from *Isca*, Leg. II. Aug. to *Gallena*, some Reliques of the Carcase of this City yet appear to be seene in that place which the Natives yet call *Kenchester* Walls, by an Apherisis of *Ar*. which conjecture is mightily confirmed by the neighbouring part of this Shire, in (b) *Doomsday* booke. There are Testimonies sufficient of its Antiquity, stones of Musive worke, British Bricks, and Romane Coyne, here frequently taken up, They say that the old Towne perished by an Earthquake, but yet in *William Malmsburyes* age out of its ruins *Hereford* sprung famous for a Bishoprick, which *Baldus* calls *Henefortensis*, for *Hereford* in British signifies *Vetus via*, or the old way.

CLEVUM. M. P. XV.] *Sabrina* or *Severne* passeth by the cheifest City of *Glocester shire*, which in *Antoninus* is *Clevum* or *Glevum*, but among the Brittaines *Caergloui*, but with others, *Claudiocestre*, from *Claudius*, who they say, gave his daughter *Genissa* in marriage to *Arviragus*, of whom *Juvenall* in his fourth Satyr.

*Regem aliquem capies, vel de temone Britanno*  
*Excidet Arviragus* ———

Another King take, or from's Chariot shall  
*Arviragus* fall.

(i) *Gildas sa-*  
*piens lib. de gestis*  
*Britonum.*

As if he had had more Daughters then *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octavia*, all whose Husbands *Suetonius* doth plainly acquaint us withall, then what doth he in *Claudius* time, slight notice of whom we light not on before *Domitians* Reigne when he was called *Arviragus*, as Doctor *Usher* out of an ancient Coyn would perswade us, but the Scholia's upon *Juvenall* would have him named *Arbilas*. Our learned Antiquary had rather a great deale more willingly bring down the name from *Glovus*, (i) *Qui edificavit urbem magnam supra ripam Fl. Sab. quæ vocatur Britannico sermone Cairgloni Saxonice autem Glecester*, his Thoughts were also upon *Caergloui*, it signified to the Brittaines as much as *Pulchrum* or *Splendidum*, and is as much to them as in Greek *Calliponis*. There was a Colony deduced hither called *Colonia Glevum* in that Inscription.

DEC.



DEC. COLONIÆ GLEV.  
VIXIT ANN. LXXXVI.

Yet to be seene in Bath walls, neer the Northerne Gate. Cirencester.  
DVROCORNIVVM. M.P. XIV. ] So it is named in An- Gloucestershire.  
toninus, that is, the water Cornovium. But in Ptolemaus it is Ko-  
pivvov Corinthium.

SPINIS. M.P. XV. ] Cunetio or Kenet goeth by an ancient town Spine-lands  
whose name is not yet quite obliterated, being as yet called near Newberry.  
Spene, it is scarce a mile from Newberry, a famous Town which  
sprung out of the Ruines thereof, whence also it was called so,  
and part yet thereof is still to this day called Spinam Lands, to  
witness its Originall.

CALLEVA. M.P. XV. ] I have spoken sufficiently to this Barkshire.  
Town in what goes before.

ABONEM. P. IX. ] Ita enim semper casu ἀποκομίστην, sive ablati- Gloucestershire.  
vo, quem vocant, proferuntur ea opida & mansiones, quæ in Antoni-  
ni Itinerario occurrunt. Id factum a descriptore ejus more prisce seculi,  
quo urbium nomina, ἀκλῖτα fere, sive μονόπλευρα esse volebant: quod e-  
tiam nos pluribus docemus ad illud Itinerarium, quod quantum ad Bri-  
tanniam pertinet, restitutum jam in publicum damus. Quamobrem  
merito reprehendendus videatur Hieronymus Surita, qui hoc in sua An-  
tonini editione primus mutavit, contra omnium codicum auctoritatem,  
quos tamen constat illum plures inspexisse.

Memoratur hoc opidum in XIV. Itinere Brit. ab Isca Leg. II. Au-  
gusta Gallenam Atrebatam instituto, ad IX. Mill. distantiam à Ven-  
ta Silurum: Situm autem est in Conventu Gloucestriensis ad Sabrinam  
fl. nec procul ab ipso ostio, hodieque etiam Aventon appellatur; de quo  
Vir Clariss. atque idem felicissimus Antiquarum Originum vindex Gui-  
lielmus Camdenus: Cum Avon, inquit, flumen Britannis denotet,  
non absolum erit, si à flumine sic dictum putemus, eadem enim plane  
significatione, ut alia omittam, nos Waterton, Bourne, & Riverton;  
Latini Aquinum, & Fluentiam habuerunt. Ita vir Eruditissimus;  
quanquam eum hoc nomine sugillet (cui tamen sua omnia debet) pla-  
giarius ille transfuga Richardus Vitus, Basinstochius, in Notis suis ad  
Historiam Britannicam, miseris modis ab eo contaminatam; quod  
palpitando scilicet vocabula Britannica studeat inde nomina locorum  
producere. Norunt autem viri eruditi, quod nos pace ipsius dictum vo-  
lumus, non aliunde locorum appellationes, sive Urbium Origines,  
quam ex ipsorum incolarum linguis petendas esse. De Fluentia certe  
ex Plinio constat, ita nominatam, quod præfluenti Arno apposta esset.  
lib. III. cap. 5. Et Tenon è Cycladibus unam propter aquarum abundan-  
tiam Aristoteles Hydrusam appellatam ait, teste eodem Plinio Lib. IV.  
cap. 12. Eadem prorsus ratione & Hydruntem, in primis Italia portum  
nobilem, nomen sortitam esse, par est ut credamus; cum ut ille idem  
nos docet Plinius lib. III. cap. 2. ad discrimen Ionij & Adriatici maris  
situm



situm habeat, qua in Græciam brevissimus transitus. Sed & ad Abonem etiam Sabriani æstuarii trajectus olim fuit. vide TRAIECTUS

Guilielmus Fulco, Antiquarius patrum memoria Cantabrigiensis, atque idem insignis Theologus, inter præclara Academia illius decora merito censendus, Abonem Bristoliam fuisse credidit, sive ut veteres nuncupant, Emporium florentissimum ad Avonam fl. quod Julio Cæs. Bulingero Burgstovia perperam appellatur; verum hujus erroris causam inde fluxisse apparet, quod opido huic fluvium illum cognominem videret. Immensum autem quantum in hoc loco designando aberraverit Franciscus a Sacra-quercu, vir quidem optimus, & quem pueri nos admodum Oxonijs in eodem contubernio senem novimus: Abingdon enim, sive, ut in Monachorum libris legitur, notissimum opidum ad Issidem fl. nec Oxonijs procul, ita nuncupatum scribit. Sed χαρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ φεγγῶν ὀπίσ-μα, quod dici solet: alludente enim nomine tantum, ratio itineraria heic plane repugnat.

## BRITANNIARUM.

## ITER. XIV.

Editio.

Aldina.

Suritana.

Simleriana.

## ALIO ITINERE

AB ISCA

CALLEVAM. M.P. CIII. sic:

VENTA SILURUM. M.P. IX.

ABONE M.P. IX.

TRAJECTUS. M.P. IX.

AQUIS SOLIS M.P. VI.

VERLUCIONE M.P. XV.

CUNETIONE M.P. XX.

SPINIS M.P. XV.

CALLEVA. M.P. XV.

Tacit. Annal.  
XII.

**V**ENTAM SILURUM. M. P. IX.] I before gave notice that there were three Venta's in this Itinerary; one of the Belgæ and one of the Iceni: and this last is attributed to the Country of the Silures; Tacitus names them in an old Copy: the Nation of the Silures was changed with no feircenesse, nor with clemency, but that they would exercise War. And in the life of Agricola that the Silures passed into Britaine, he conjectures as a Colony of the old Iberi, that saith he, their coloured looks and



and curled hair for the most part, and their scituation, over against *Spain* cause a beleif that the old *Iberi* passed over, and possessed those places. And in the same Book; *Julius* also *Frontinus* sustained the brunt, a great man, as far as he might: and overcame in armes the strong and stout Nation of the *Silures*. *Ptolemy* made the *Demeta* the utmost people of the Island towards the West; and the *Silures* after them more to the East. Amongst them is the *Wy* or *Vaga*, the limit betwixt the *Glocester-shire* and *Monmouth-shire* men. In former times this City was called *Caer-Went*.

TRAJECTUS. M. P. IX.] This is named by *Antoninus* over against *Abonis* where there was wont to be a passage over the *Sabrinian* Sea, at a place which is called to this day *Oldbury*, (i. e.) *Vetus Burgus*, now a dayes they passe over a little beneath at *Aust* a Village.

VERLUCIONEM. M. P. XV.] *Diverril* a little River *Wilt-shire* passeth by here, so called, because it passeth under ground as the *Anas* in *Spain*, and the *Mole* with us in *Surrey*, and about a mile off it hasteneth to *Cunetio* a very ancient Towne which is now called *Warminster*, and from the Saxon signifieth a Monestery.

CUNETIO. M. P. XX.] The River *Kennet* visiteth a City *Wilt-shire* of its own name XX. miles from *Verlucio*, mentioned likewise by *Antoninus*. It is now called *Marlborough*, named so perhaps from *Marga* in *Plinnie* which they now call *Marl*, and wherewith, as by a kind of Melioration, they dung their Land as with a kind of Chalk. For it is ridiculous to deduce it from *Merlin* the Wizard, which yet however some anciently have ventured to do. *Wilt-shire*  
*Merlin tumulus*  
*ubi Merlebrigea*  
*nomen Fecit,*  
*testis erit Ang-*  
*lica lingua mihi.*  
*Alex. Necha-*  
*mus libro De*  
*Divina Sapi-*  
*entia.*

SPINIS. M. P. XV.]

CALLEVAM. M. P. XV.]

AQUIS SOLIS. M. P. VI.] Ponitur hoc opidum ab *An-* *Somersetshire*  
*tonino* in Itinere ab *Isca* *Damnoniorum Gallenam* *Atreba-*  
*tum*. *Ptolemæo* in *Geographia* lib. II. ὕδατα θερμά, id est, *Aquæ*  
*calidæ*, dicuntur, *Stephano* vero *Byzantino* ὁπὶ πύλων Βάδζα, *Bad-*  
*diza*. Nobis hodie *Bathe* a *Thermis* hic nobilissimis, unde infima  
*latinitas Bathoniam* appellat. *Britanni* antiqui *Caer-badon*, &  
*quod* *Camdeno* placere video; *Caer-Palladour* vocabant. *Joan-*  
*nes Lelandus*, magni nominis superiori seculo antiquarius,  
*Montem Badonicum*, *Gildæ*, & (a) *Bedæ* lib. I. cap. 16. nuncupa- (a) *Bedæ* lib.  
*tum* scribit; qui in hac re tamen in aliquo versatur errore, uti I. cap. 16.  
*postea* docebimus, ubi *Badonico Monti* locus suus dabitur. De-  
*nique* ne non videar omnia commemorasse nomina, quibus an-  
*tiquitus* hanc urbem insignitam volunt, (πάνη δὲ οἱ ἔνομα πολὺ,  
*ut* *Callimachi* verbis utar:) præterquam quod *Vicum Aquari-*  
*um* nominatam scribat *Carolus Stephanus*, (de quo tamen ni-  
*hil* nobis constat:) etiam a frequenti huc ex tota fere *Anglia*  
*valetudinariorum* concursu *Akemancheſter*, id est, *Ægrotorum ur-*  
*bens*



bem veteres Angli appellarunt. Quippe Aquæ illæ e terræ qua-  
 si venis atque visceribus mirabiliter ebullientes humanis corpo-  
 ribus tabifica lue aut morbo contactis, pravisque humoribus  
 torpescantibus, admodum salubres. Humfredus Lhydus in sua  
 Britanniae descriptione efficacis earum virtutis se certissimum  
 testem esse scribit. Nam cum ex ictu inquit, equi Mediolani in  
 Italia accepto gravissimo dolore ischiadico duodecim continuis  
 mensibus laborarem, diversisque doctissimorum medicorum  
 auxiliis non convalescerem, his balneis cum tantum sex diebus  
 usus essem, sanitati pristinae restitutus sum. Guil. Malmesbu-  
 rienfis de Gestis Pontif. lib. II. Julium Cæsarem earum aucto-  
 rem fuisse tradidit; cum tamen has partes illum nunquam a-  
 diisse certo constet &, quod multo magis ridiculum, Equitum  
 Balnei Ordinem heic primum eum instituisse, (qualia sunt fere  
 Monachorum deliramenta:) idem somniat. Britannorum  
 Commentarii, quorum nescio in hac re an major auctoritas,  
 ad *Bladudum* referunt veterem Britanniae regem: Quippe eum,  
 cum cives suos jam rudes, & agrestes huminitates excolere cu-  
 peret, studio literarum in Græciam profectum esse, diuque A-  
 thenis operam summis magistris dedisse. Inde digressum qua-  
 tuor secum philosophos adduxisse, qui Græcorum artes & di-  
 sciplinas publice in Britannia traderent. Ipsum vero ut in om-  
 ni liberali doctrina politus erat, ita in ea sapientia quam Magiam  
 alii, alii Necromantiam vocant, excellentem fuisse: & tandem  
 progressu temporis in opido quodā, quod ædificasset ipse, quod-  
 que obeam rem *Ἰδαία θεῶν* Ptolemæus vocat, *calidas* & medicatas  
 aquas effecisse narrant. Certe Necromantiam non posse effici,  
 nisi sicubi loca sulphuratis & calidis aquis Scaturiunt, ex vete-  
 rum scriptis docet Servius ad Æneidos VI. Britannos vero olim  
 tantis ceremonijs Magiam celebrasse, ut eam Persis dedisse vide-  
 rentur, auctor est Plinius in libri XXX. proæmio. Deinde refe-  
 runt eadem arte atque audacia adhibita volare pennis innixum  
 Bladudum hunc contendisse; idque ei perbelle aliquandiu  
 processisse. Verum dum longius connititur, Icarum in me-  
 dio cursu & artem & pennas defecisse, atque alte de subito ca-  
 dentem, ad Templum, quod eo quoque opido Apollini conse-  
 crasset, allisum perijsse. Et de Bladudo quidem hætenus  
 Britannorum Commentarij. Quia vero Templum heic ad  
 Thermas Apollini dicatum proditur, ut inde Aquæ Solis loco  
 nomen inditum suspicemur, *μῦθος ἐκ ἐμὸς, ἀλλ' ἐλέγον*, ut ille  
 ait.

Certe major percrebrescit fama quæ de Minervæ heic æde po-  
 sita diditur in vulgus, quam etiam firmat Julii Solini testimo-  
 nium, sic enim ille de Thermis in Britannia (quas cave alias  
 nobis investiges, quam Solis has aquas:) verba faciens, Poly-  
 historis cap. XXXV. sive ut in Salmasiana editione habetur, XXII.  
*In Britannia magna, inquit, & multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo  
 exculti*



ex culti apparatus, ad usus mortalium. Quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cuius æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas; sed ubi cinis (ita vulgati codd. lege ignis) Stabat, vertit in globos Saxeos. Quanquam ex Athenæo discamus Δειπνοσοφ. ΓΥ. calida omnia lavacra, quæ naturaliter ex terræ visceribus scateant, sacra esse Herculi, & Ἡράκλεια dici. Hinc in Locride τὰ θερμὰ τῆς Ἡράκλειους, & Thermopylas sic dictas propter θερμὰ πλεόν ὕδαλα πρῶτα ὡς Ἡρακλῆος ἱερὰ, apud Strabonem in θ. legimus. Scriptura non Paulo antiquior ex Herodoto in Πολυμν. Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ταύτῃ [Sc. Thermopylarum] θερμὰ λυτρά τὰ χύτρες καλέουσιν οἱ ἐπὶ χώριοι καὶ ὥμος ἰδρυταὶ Ἡρακλῆος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι; In hoc ingressu sunt calida lavacra, quæ Ollas indigenæ vocant; & de super ara Herculis exstructa. Scholiastes ad illa Sophoclis in Trachinijs.

Quæ ipsa Solinæ verba transcripserunt ab Auctore Historiæ Britannicæ unde apparet qualis nam sit ille interpres; quod tamen de se perhibet vir bonus.

Ammianus lib. XXII. reddidit; sunt Thermolitra, quæ Cythrus indigenæ vocant: Ita editio Lindenbrogiana.

denbrogiana: ut in Rob. Stephani hæc verba penitus absunt. Ex Herodoto apud eum obiter emenda, Chytros iuxta illud Senecæ epist. 41. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: subita & ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras hebenotuntur aquarum valentium fontes. Notavit & exemplis probavit ad Annualem Taciti XIV. Lipsius.

Ὠγαύλοχα καὶ πετρεῖα  
Θερμὰ λυτρά

In Sicilia quoque Herculis lavacra memorat. Ἐν Σικελίᾳ φασὶν ἀναδθλῶναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ θερμὰ λυτρά. Cum autem Herculi lavacra calida sacra esse dicantur, a Minerva tamen illi parata docet, non solum idem Scholiastes ad eundem locum: λυτρά φησὶ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἅπερ λεγέσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ Ἀθλῶν ἀνείργαι. Lavacra intelligit Herculis, quæ illi Minerva posuisse dicitur: sed & alter ille etiam ad Aristophanis νεφέλαι qui & Pisanodrum Rhodium, Heracleæ auctorem, in hanc rem laudat.

Τῷ δ' Ἐρμῶπι λησι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθλῶν  
Ποιεῖ θερμὰ λυτρά παρὰ ρήγνιν αὐθαλασσης.

Quæ nos ita reddidimus.

Thermopylis olim huic cæstra diva Minervæ.  
Caldæ lavacra maris reflui prope littora fecit.

For thee Thermopolis bright Pallas hath  
Made nere unto the Oceans shore a Bath.

Fuisse quidem apud veteres omnia θερμὰ λυτρά Sacra etiam Aristoteles docet, causam rei inquirens προβλεμ. καδ' ἰθ. Dicemus itaque quod



quod Camdenus quoque censuit, posse fieri, ut utrique Deo e-  
 orum tutela sit dicata. Erant quippe σύμβομοι θεοι Hercules & Mi-  
 nerva, quod ex Strabone docemur in 10. ubi Augustum reposu-  
 isse narrat εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν βᾶσιν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέα ab Antonino  
 sublato ex insula Samo. De præcipuo autem utriusque Nu-  
 minis apud gentes occidentales cultu, atque adeo ipsos Britan-  
 nos, vide BELISAMA & HERCULIS Promontorium.  
 Cæterum, ut heic quidem taceamus regionem quandam Medi-  
 olani, urbis Italiæ, fuisse, quæ diceretur Herculeum Lavacrum  
 aut Herculeæ Balnea; quod Ausonius in Urbibus indicat isto  
 versu.

*Et Regio Herculei celebris sub honore lavacri;*

The Royall honor of Herculean Baths.

Harrison. De-  
 script. Britan.  
 lib. II. cap. 14.

In hac ipsa quoque urbe nonnulla occurrunt monumenta,  
 cultus ejus heic olim luculenta indicia. In mœnibus enim,  
 inter portas Australem & Borealem, imago ejus utraque manu  
 serpentem constringentis extat; in Borealem quoque & Occi-  
 dentalem alia quædam, sed nuda, ejusdem imago duos itidem  
 serpentes comprimentis visenda apparet. Earum meminit  
 Guil. Harrisonus, qui ipse diligenter olim inspexit, præter  
 Camdenum; qui effigiem insuper ejus sublata sinistra, cum cla-  
 va dextra ibidem cerni testatur.

Quantum ad Minervæ tutelam hujus loci attinet, cum a Ju-  
 lio Solino scriptore antiquo proditum sit calidis hisce fontibus  
 Minervam sive Palladem præfuisse, satis sibi esse ait idem Cam-  
 denus, si ex ejus auctoritate evicerit, hanc urbem esse, quam  
*Caer-Palladour* sua lingua Britanni veteres dixerunt; hoc est urbs  
 Palladiæ aquæ, si Latine interpreteris: apposite enim, inquit,  
 res, nomen & significatio conspirant.

Quare quædam aquæ caleant, quædam etiam ferveant, plu-  
 res causæ reddantur, inquit Seneca Natural. Quæst. lib. III.  
 cap. 24. Empedocles existimat ignibus, quos multis locis terra  
 opertos tegit, aquam calefcere, si subjecti sunt solo, per quod  
 aquis transcurfus est. Sed disputationem de hac re proponere,  
 non est instituti nostri. Illud satis est annotasse, calidos hos  
 fontes, quorum aqua sulphure & bitumine percolatur, ebullire  
 maxime ad radiorum solis accessum, a XII. scilicet matutina  
 ad horam III. pomeridianam: quo tempore foedissimas sordes  
 ejectant; neque quisquam prius ingreditur, quam a Solis vigo-  
 re penitus defœcati & expurgati salutares reddantur. Atque  
 inde Solis aquas ab antiquis credimus nominatas: quemadmo-  
 dum & Fontem Solis in Troglodylis appellatum memorat Pli-  
 nius lib. II. cap. 103. qui dulcis circa meridiem & maxime fri-  
 gidus; mox paulatim tepescens ad noctis mediam fervore & a-  
 maritu-



maritudine infestatur; idque occulta aliqua nec prorsus diversa, masculi illius syderis vi atque virtute. Certe ipsum hunc fontem, nomine his nostris magis consono, Aquam Solis nuncupat Q. Curtius lib. IV. cujus verba huc transcribere non pigebit: *Est aliud, inquit, Hammonis nemus, in medio habet fontem Aquam Solis vocant. Sub lucis ortum tepida manat; medio die, cum vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit; inclinato in vespere calefcit, media nocte fervida exestuat: quoque propius nox vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrefcit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum assueto tepore languescat.*

Porro de nostris hisce Solis Aquis, five Thermis, quæ medendis corporibus salubres adeo perhibentur, mihi non tempero, quin elegantissimos Callimachi Cyrenæi versus usurpem, qui Hymno Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα extant.

Οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσάξουσιν ἔθειραι,  
ἀλλ' αὐτῷ Πανάκειαν δι' ἄσει δ' ὧ κεν ἔκτειναι  
Πρῶκεις ἔραζε πέσων, ἀκήγια πάντ' ἐγόνοντο.

Quos versus, non solum de Callimacho, sed de Græcis quoque literis optime meritis Bonaventura Vulcanius ita Latinos reddidit.

*Non adipem videas Phæbi stillare capillis,  
Sed Panaceam ipsam: quæ quam rore imbuit urbem  
Prona petens, nullis illa est obnoxia morbis.*

Thou seest not sweat drop but Ambrosian dew  
From Phæbus hairs: that Cities which do use  
This precious oymment are from sickness free.

Portionem aliquam legionis II. Augustæ heic olim stativa habuisse exinde colligi potest, quod G. Murrius Modestus Arniensis & M. Valerius Eatinus, Milites leg. II. Aug. heic sepulti perhibeantur, quod ex sepulcralibus inscriptionibus ad urbem effossis satis constat. Quæ ad reliquam sunt antiquitatem, ea omnia dedit Camdenus in Belgis, & qui, Camdeno censore, antiquitatis cognitione præstans Guil. Harrisonus Descriptionis Britanniae (quam primum se ait aggressum:) lib. II. cap. 14. quos tu, siquid lubet, adi. Nuperrime omnium Thomas Johnsonus Pharmacopæus Londiniensis & Botannicus peritissimus has Thermas urbemque adeo ipsam eleganter descripsit, edito non ita pridem Latine de ijs Libello singulari. Vide AQUÆ CALIDÆ, & BADIZA. De Templo Apollini Bathoniæ, cujus meminit Galfridus, ubi res gestas Bladudi prisci regis Britannici prosequitur, vide AQUÆ SOLIS. Sed & Apollini Granno Ara dicata Musselburgi in Scotia effossa, cujus meminit, præter

Vide Thomæ  
Johnsoni opera  
Botanica, &  
quæ inibi de  
Thermis & his  
antiquitatibus.



ter Guil. Camdenum Jos. Scaliger lib. I. epist. LXVI. ad Isaac.  
 Casaubonum Joannes Napeir Baro Merchinstonius ad cap.  
 XVIII. Apocalypseos, & Claud. Salmasius ad *Spartiani* Hadri-  
 anum. Eam, uti olim descripta est a Clarissimo doctissimo-  
 que V. Petro Junio, habes in GRANNUS. Præter Gruteri  
 Inscriptiones pag. CXXXVI. Vide ABELLIO, & BELATU-  
 CARDUS.

AQUÆ CALIDÆ *Ἰδαυα θερμα*. Sic illud opidum Albionis in  
 Belgarum regione appellat Ptolemæus, quod Antonino Itinere  
 ab Isca Damnoniorum Gallenam Atrebatum Aquæ Solis dici-  
 tur. Hæ aquæ salubritate medendis corporibus nobiles. Qua-  
 les habuisse plures Britanniam testatur Beda lib. I. cap. I. Ha-  
 bet, inquit, & fontes calidos, & ex eis fluvios balnearum cali-  
 darum, omni ætati & sexui per distincta loca juxta suum cui-  
 que modum accomodos. Hunc locum vicum Aquarium alijs  
 dictum esse vulgo Wich, Vique, unde habuerit Carolus Ste-  
 phanus nos nescimus. Vide AQUÆ SOLIS. Certe Bath-  
 Wich ita appellari posse libenter agnoscimus.

HIC JACET ALEX. DE ALNETA ET ERNEB UR-  
 GA UXOR EJUS, &c. CUM LIBERIS EORUM.

*Vide prius Soli-  
 nus locum:*

*Est istud Epitaph. a dextra in ostio ruinosi templi quondam Mi-  
 nervæ dedicati & adhuc in loco dicto sese studiosis offerens. 1582.  
 7. Decemb. Extat in rubro codice Bathoniæ quem debemus  
 singulari humanitati optimi Viri Joannis Parkeri Aldermanni  
 illic. Extant etiam ibidem in ædibus ejusdem hi lapides ita in-  
 scripti.*

VIBIA  
 JUCUN  
 DA  
 AN XXX  
 HIC SEPUL  
 TA EST.

*Item ille IMP. CÆS. VESPAS.  
 nummus ibid. effusus ap. eundem. ut  
 constet ab eod. Vespas. Leg. II. Au-  
 gustam huc fuisse deductam.*

Bladud magnus negromanticus qui, ut scribitur de gestis suis,  
 Calidas aquas in Badone fecisset per artem Magicam. Sed magis  
 ascribendum est naturæ cum similia balnea fiant in varijs regio-  
 nibus illis calidiora. Sed scriptum vidi quo tempore Elias Pro-  
 pheta oravit ut cœlum plueret, tunc eruperunt tres fontes a-  
 quæ calidæ in urbe illa medicinales morbis mortalium.

*Ex eodem codice. quæ sumuntur ex Historia Britan-  
 nica Galfridi Monumethensis lib. I. cap. 14.*

Having



Having said so much concerning the Bath, I should highly offend against gratitude if I should here omit his name whose house in *London* is as another *Akemancheſter*, and ſo would prove if *Merlins* prophesie ſhould be fulfilled, which I neither beleive nor fear. The gentle cure of the Palfie effected upon me this year makes me never think of him, but withall I have a remembrance of the excellent Phyſitian *Apis* who cures *Aeneas* in *Virgils* twelfth Book, theſe are the excellent Verſe wherein he deſcribes him.

*Jamque aderat Phæbo ante alios dilectus Iapis.*  
*Iasides : acri quondam cui captus amore*  
*Ipse suas artes, sua munera lætus Apollo.*  
*Augurium citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas:*  
*Ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis,*  
*Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi.*  
*Maluit, & mutas agitare inglorius artes.*  
*Stabat acerba fremens, ingentem nixus in hastam*  
*Aeneas, magno juvenum, & merentis Iuli*  
*Concurſu, lacrimisque immobilis, ille retorto*  
*Pæonium in morem senior ſuccinctus amictu,*  
*Multa manu medica, Phæbique potentibus herbis*  
*Nequicquam trepidat, nequicquam ſpicula dextra*  
*Sollicitat, preſatque tenaci forcipe ferrum:*  
*Nulla viam fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo*  
*Subvenit, & ſævus campis magis, ac magis horror*  
*Crebreſcit, propiusque malum eſt. Jam pulvere cælum*  
*Stare vident, ſubeunt equites, & ſpicula caſtris*  
*Denſa cadunt medijs: it triſtis ad æthera clamor*  
*Bellantum juvenum, & duro ſub Marte cadentium.*  
*Hæc Venus indigno natæ concuſſa dolore*  
*Diſtammum genetrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida,*  
*Puberilus caulem folijs, & flore comantem*  
*Purpureo, non illa feris incognita capris.*  
*Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæſere ſagittæ,*  
*Hoc Venus obſcuro faciem circumdata nimbo*  
*Detulit, hoc fuſum labris ſplendentibus amnem*  
*Inficit, occulte medicans, ſpargitque ſalubres*  
*Ambroſia ſuccos, & odoriferam Panaceam.*  
*Fovit ea vultus lymphæ longæus Iapis*  
*Ignorans, ſubitoque omnis de corpore fugit*  
*Quippe dolor : omnis ſtetit imo vulnere ſanguis,*  
*Jamque ſecuta manum, nullo cogente ſagitta*  
*Excidit, atque novæ rediere in priſtina vires.*

*Iapis Phæbus* minion, now was there,  
 To whom the God did ſuch affection beare,

That



That his own Gifts on him he did bestow,  
 His prophesying Spirit, Harp, and Bow,  
 That he might long defer the fatall hour  
 Of his old Father, he the use and power  
 Of Simples learnt, and to himself imparts,  
 By study, knowledge of despised arts.  
*Aeneas* chafing, lean'd upon a Speare,  
 With sad *Iulus*, and great concourse there,  
 Nor is he mov'd nor troubled at their tearès,  
 Then old *Iapis* many things prepares,  
 His Vest girt back in the *Peonian* guise,  
 And *Phæbus* pow'r full herbes in vain applyes;  
 Vainely he laboures to draw forth the steele,  
 Tries with his probe, and doth with pincers feele;  
 No way will hit, no ayd *Apollo* yeilds;  
 And horroure more and more rag'd in the Feilds;  
 Dust clouds all Heaven, the horse draws neer the wall,  
 Dangerous it growes, shafts midst the Camp do fall;  
 The cryes of valiant Souldiers scale the Skie,  
 And those that in the bloody battell dye.  
 Here *Venus* troubled at her Sons deep wound,  
 Brought Dittanie, in *Cretan Ida* found;  
 The stalke hath sprouting leaves, and on the Crown  
 A purple Flower, not to wild Goates unknowne,  
 When winged Arrowes in their backs are fix'd;  
 Veild with a Cloud, this beauteous *Venus* mix'd,  
 With purest water, in a Bowl, and strews  
 The healing moysture of *Ambrosian* dewes,  
 And with its sweetest *Panax* did compound (wound:  
 With which th' old man, not knowing, bath'd the  
 Then from his body streight all anguish fled,  
 And now the wound no more, though mighty, bled;  
 The steele now, uncompell'd, followes the hand,  
 And strength returnes unto its old command.



BRITANNIARUM.

ITER. XV.

Editio.

*Aldina.*

*Suritana.*

*Simleriana.*

A CALLEVA.

ISCA DUMNUNNIORUM. M.P. CXXXVI. sic:

VINDOMI. M.P. XV.

VENTA BELGARUM M.P. XXI.

BRIGE. M.P. XI.

SORBIODONI. M.P. VIII.

VINDOCLADIA. M.P. XII.

DURNONOVARIA. M.P. IX.

MORIDUNO M.P. XXXVI.

ISCADUM NUNNIORUM. M.P. XV.

VINDONUM. M.P. XV.] The *Segontiaci* were a people *Hant-shire.* of *Britaine* which yeilded themselves to *Cesar*, and inhabited the Northen parts of the Hundred of *Holeshot*, and their principall City was *Vindonum Segontiacorum*, by the *Britains* it was called *Caer-Segont*, as at this day it is called *Silcester.* The distance between *Calleva* and *Venta Belgarum* in *Antoninus* perswades me to what I say here: as for what *Richard de Basingstoake* saith here concerning *Vindonum* of *Gaul*, I matter it nothing, nor heed it no more then what he saith concerning *Sicula*, in other writers, a Towne of the lower *Germanie*, which he makes our *Silcester* in *England*. *Ninnius* and others will have this City built by *Constantinus* the Father of *Constantine* the Great, & that it was named *Murimintum*, for *Muri-Vindum*, but elsewhere you shall have more of this, in the mean while let this content you.

BRIGE. M.P. XI.] Or *Brage* an ancient Towne mentioned *Hantshire.* by *Ptolemy* nine miles distant from *Sorbiodunum* or *Salsberry* called *Broughton*, neer by the Banks of the River *Test*: otherwise it was overthrown when in the time of *William* the Norman all things were rooted up, to make a Parke there. Whether it hath any thing to do with that *Brige* in the third Book of *Beda's Ecclesiasticall History*, I had rather others should enquire. *In loco qui dicitur Brige.* And a little after, *Maxime in Brige & in Cale, & in Andilegum Monasterio.*

SORBIODUNUM. M.P. VIII.] Besides the Frigid de- *Salisbury.* ductions of the ancient name of this famous Town *Severia* and of *O o* *Sarif-*



Catalogue Epif-  
pocorum Saris-  
bur.

*Sarisburia*, from either *Saron* in *Berosus*, or *Severus* the Emperor of this name from the signification which one well skilled in *British* assured *Camden* was as much as *collis siccus*, or a dry Hill, for good reasons which he alledgeth: I will onely add the mistake of *Francis Goodwin*, who in his learned work voucheth the name of *Ptolemy* for *Antoninus*, for *Sorbiodunum*. The rest I refer the reader to *Camden* for.

VINDOCLADIA. M.P. XII.] Which now is called *Wimburnminster*. It gained the name from the situation: for *Windugledy* soundeth as much in *British* as between two Swords. Now that Rivers are called so, by a peculiar phrase or manner of speaking, is knowne to all who are acquainted with the Antiquity of *Milford-haven*, and is better known then that I need any way to tell. The latter *Wimburn* is from Saxon deduction where *Burn* signifies by a River.

Dorsetshire.

DURNONOVARIA. M.P. IX.] This Town of principall note was called as the passage of a River, and in *Ptolemy* it is according to the variety of copies, *Δέρνιον*, and *Δέρνιον* in English is called *Dorchester*, and there are many Emperors Coyns found there, but the vulgar call them King *Dornies* pennies, besides the military wayes which appear there.

MORIDUNO. M.P. XXXVI.] This is *Seaton* in *Devonshire*, between *Dorchester* and *Exeter*. The site in both Languages giveth the name; as if he would say, the Town on an Hill by the Sea. In *Pentingers* Tables so often mentioned, it is called *Ridunum*: but it is plain that the Book is corrupted.

\* *Isca Dumno-*  
*niam* *Ful. folin.*  
*editione lib. 3.*

*Camden.*

\* *Urbs Sicari-*  
*orum.*

\* ISCADUMNUNNIORUM. M.P. XV.] They are otherwise called in *Ptolemy* *Δαμνώνιοι* the *Devonshire* men. Their other names out of *Strabo* and others we are to consult *Camden* for; that denoted the Romans residing here; because it was called afterward \* *Caer-Ruffian*, now it is *Exeter*.

FINIS.



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FINIS.



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*Other faults, being obvious and inconfiderable, the Reader is deſired to amend with his Pen.*







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